THE LISTENER'S HISTORY OF MUSIC Vol. II

BY

PERCY A. SCHOLES

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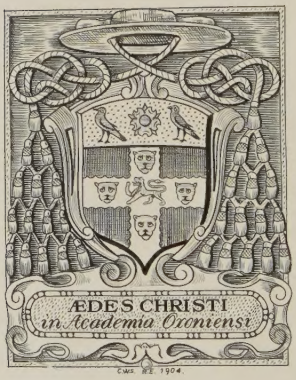

WITHDRAWN FROM
CHRIST CHURCH OXFORD

THE ABBEY BOOK SHOP
AND THE ABBEY PRESS,
THE PARADE, SHERBORNE.

Presented by Canon D.B. Epperson
July 1995
D.B. Epperson
Sherborne.
Christ Church
T056440

THE LISTENER'S HISTORY OF MUSIC

VOLUME II. THE ROMANTIC AND NATIONALIST SCHOOLS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

THE LISTENER'S HISTORY OF MUSIC

A Book for any Concert-goer Pianolist or Gramophonist

PROVIDING ALSO A COURSE OF STUDY FOR ADULT CLASSES IN THE APPRECIATION OF MUSIC

BY

PERCY A. SCHOLES

WITH INCIDENTAL NOTES BY

SIR W. HENRY HADOW
SIR RICHARD R. TERRY
DR. ERNEST WALKER
EDWIN EVANS

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME II. THE ROMANTIC AND NATIONALIST SCHOOLS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS
LONDON : HUMPHREY MILFORD
1929

OXFORD
UNIVERSITY PRESS
AMEN HOUSE, E.C. 4
LONDON EDINBURGH GLASGOW
LEIPZIG NEW YORK TORONTO
MELBOURNE CAPETOWN BOMBAY
CALCUTTA MADRAS SHANGHAI
HUMPHREY MILFORD
PUBLISHER TO THE
UNIVERSITY

Printed in Great Britain

THE AUTHOR'S INTRODUCTION

THE present volume of *The Listener's History of Music* sketches the rise of the Romantic and Nationalist Schools in music. Without claiming that it advances any new views one may at least claim that it places the emphasis rather differently from most existing treatments of the subject.

As I have worked at the preparation of the volume I have been more and more impressed with the fact that the Romantic Movement in Music has usually been discussed rather superficially and in a somewhat detached spirit. It seems to be a rather common practice with authors of histories to pass over it hurriedly, and partially or entirely to neglect the vital connexion between the growth of the romantic temper in literature and painting with the growth of that temper in music. To take the most glaring example: Parry's epoch-making *The Evolution of the Art of Music*, a very valuable book to which many of us are indebted for our first intelligent conception of the development of the art, entirely ignores the connexion between the Romantic movement in music and that in the other arts—never even mentions it. Indeed, I think I may say that nowhere in the book does there occur even the word 'Romantic'.

To take another example. The third edition of our admired and indispensable *Grove's Dictionary*, which has appeared since the present volume was in proof, under the heading 'Romantic' gives a mere forty lines or so, in which no reference whatever is made to the early nineteenth-century romantic schools in literature and painting.[1]

An outstanding element in the development of the arts at the opening of the nineteenth century, as it seems to me, is the new interaction between them. We do not know much about

[1] The previous edition was better. It gave nine columns, and gave a a number of literary references, though not enough.

what Mozart read or what pictures he looked at (if any), and if we did it would probably not affect our view of his music. But we do know that Berlioz read and associated with Dumas and Hugo and Vigny, and looked at the pictures of, and associated with, Delacroix and Géricault, and if we did not know this we could not thoroughly understand his music. And similarly with Schumann's reading of Jean Paul and Hoffmann, and Weber's friendship with Hoffmann and his early connexion with the romantic stage at what we may call its 'Wilhelm Meister' period, and Mendelssohn's family relationship with the Schlegels, pillars of the German Romantic School in literature and protagonists of Shakespeare in Germany. The student's acquirement of this kind of knowledge is not a mere satisfaction of intelligent curiosity; it is vital to his understanding of the music of the period.

And, similarly, when one comes to consider the growth of the Nationalist spirit in music and to look for the incentives behind the work of Smetana and Dvořák, Grieg, Musorgsky and Rimsky-Korsakof, and Albeniz and Granados, one is driven to a preliminary study of the growth of the national spirit in European literature and political life.

That, then, as I understand my second volume, is its leading motive—the fresh fertilization of the art of music by a closer contact with the sister arts, and, moreover, a contact with them in a phase when they represented the expression of a changed and changing view of life. And that explains in large measure, what some readers of the first volume may at once observe—the larger space given to the biographical matter, which takes on a new significance at a period when life and art have come so very near together.[1]

One close relationship between music and the other arts has

[1] E.E. writes: 'You might have remarked that "advanced" opinion of to-day regards the extra-musical elements here referred to as having temporarily diverted music from its true destiny. This is a truer explanation of the present linking up of the twentieth to the eighteenth century

always existed—the stage relationship. It will be recalled that in the first volume Opera received only passing treatment. The present volume has offered the opportunity of gathering up the threads of that subject and weaving them into a connected fabric.

The previous volume in its existing editions bears the words, 'In two Volumes; Volume I, to Beethoven'. I have found myself unable to fulfil that promise of a reasonable brevity, largely from the very fact, just mentioned, that a proper study of nineteenth-century music involves frequent and lengthy reference to nineteenth-century life and literature. A third volume has proved to be necessary, and is already in the press. It brings the subject down to our own day—the day of 'Polytonality' and 'Atonality', of 'Impressionism' and 'Expressionism', an attempted Anti-romanticism and 'Futurism'. An unusual feature of this third volume will be the reproduction of a number of paintings of the Romantic, Impressionist, Cubist, and Expressionist schools, with a brief discussion of the parallels between the trends of the musical arts during the past century. Some of these illustrations properly concern the present volume, but it has been thought better to mass them together.

Where I expect criticism (and where any author of a book of this kind *must* expect it) is in the division of the subject into 'Periods'. Some such division is inevitable and necessary if the student is to retain any clear idea of what he has read, yet any method of division is debatable. I may say frankly that my divisions are not perfect, that no division could be perfect, and that I look to the reader to turn backwards and

than the common vague remark that the preceding century is always out of favour. The 'out of favour' in the present case does not of course imply any disparagement of the great men of the intervening period in question. It is a mere question of aesthetic. In this observation seems to me to lie the key to the present-day situation which you discuss in Vol. III.'

forwards, to compare the statements and the dates in one division of my volume with those in another, and to realize that the word 'Period' though the best I could find, is not to be understood too literally as a space of time.

Any attempt to state historical truth is open to debate. Perhaps there *is* no such absolute as 'historical truth', but a syndicate may approach nearer to its discovery than an individual, and so, as in the first volume, I have submitted my work to the criticism of certain authorities in whose knowledge and competence we all have confidence, asking them freely to dissent where dissent seems to them to be necessary, and suggesting that their views should be publicly brought forward, as in the first volume, in footnote or appendix. I must gratefully acknowledge the kindness and care of these gentlemen, who will be found to be identified with their remarks throughout by the use of their names or initials. Further, I have to thank Mr. C. M. Crabtree, B.A., B.Mus., for much help in the choice of music examples, in the reading of proofs, in the reduction of extracts from full scores to a piano version, and in other time-exhausting tasks that go to the making of a book of this type.

The lists of Gramophone Records and 'Pianola' Rolls that were a feature of the first and second editions of Volume I are in Vols. II and III relinquished. Too much material of this kind is now issued for any such incidental lists to be satisfactory. My *Second Book of the Gramophone Record* is, however, designed as a companion to my second and third volumes of *The Listener's History of Music*, and the effort is being made to bring it up-to-date in its successive editions. As a companion to the first volume of the *History* the Æolian Company have enterprisingly prepared a group of three 'Pianola' Rolls, reproducing every one of its music-type extracts, and should the demand warrant it they are quite prepared to do the same for the other two volumes. This makes the volumes intelligible even to the reader who cannot read musical notation.

A full Bibliography of works in the English language upon the composers discussed in this volume will be found as an Appendix. It does not represent the sources consulted in the preparation of the book, which included the standard works in French, German, and Italian, but it will, it is hoped, be of use to many readers. So far as I know I have everywhere scrupulously acknowledged quotations from brother authors; if I have anywhere erred in this matter I should like to be informed so that I may have the opportunity of repairing the error in any later edition.

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PERIOD IV

The Romantic Composers

XIII

THE ROMANTIC ATTITUDE

'MUSIC', says De Quincey, relating his London Saturday night visits to the Opera House, 'is an intellectual or a sensual pleasure, according to the temperament of him who hears it.'[1]

And he goes on equally intelligently (for he was a Lancashire music-lover, and hence not merely an enthusiastic, but also an arguing one), to assert:

> The mistake of most people is, to suppose that it is by the ear they communicate with music, and therefore that they are purely passive as to its effects. But this is not so; it is by the reaction of the mind upon the notices of the ear (the *matter* coming by the senses, the *form* from the mind) that the pleasure is constructed; and therefore it is that people of equally good ear differ so much in this point from one another.

The precise meanings of De Quincey's individual terms need to be apprehended if the meaning of his argument is to be clearly grasped.

By 'sensual pleasure' he seems to refer to the mere beauty of sounds—single, or combined in chords, or linked in melodies. (We may, perhaps, elucidate this thought by putting this pleasure upon the same plane as that of eating or drinking.)

By 'intellectual pleasure' he seems to refer to that further stage in enjoyment, where the sounds have come to *mean* something; not to 'mean' *ideas* ('Ideas! my dear friend! there is no occasion for them'), but to mean something in that more 'sublimated' way which gives the best kind of music-listening the character of a combination of conscious and sub-conscious, of wide-awakeness and dream.

It is sufficient to say that a chorus, etc., of elaborate

[1] *Confessions of an English Opium Eater*, Part II.

harmony displayed before me, as in a piece of arras-work, the whole of my past life—not as if recalled by an act of memory, but as if present and incarnated in the music; no longer painful to dwell upon, but the detail of its incidents removed, or blended in some hazy abstraction, and its passions exalted, spiritualized and sublimed. All this was to be had for five shillings.

In other words, De Quincey as music-listener was a romanticist. When, hearing 'elaborate harmony' displayed before him 'as in a piece of arras-work', he felt the passion of his life 'exalted, spiritualized and sublimed', he was in much the same mental state as his friend Wordsworth, looking at a stretch of Wye Valley scenery and experiencing

> A sense sublime
> Of something far more deeply interfused,
> Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
> And the round ocean and the living air,
> And the blue sky, and in the mind of man:
> A motion and a spirit that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things.[1]

The Range of Romance

That is the very spirit of Romance—an emotion which all in some measure feel, and which ranges the whole distance from the happy excitement of the little servant girl, reading for the first time of the doings of duchesses in Mayfair, or the schoolboy imagining the tropical dangers and delights of desert islands, to the sympathetic emotion of Burns contemplating a mouse, or of Wordsworth observing a daisy, or, rising higher, the hopes and fears of a young mother watching a cradle, or, carried right away from earth, the rapt vision of 'I, John . . . in the isle that is called Patmos . . . in the Spirit on the Lord's Day.'

[1] *Lines Composed a Few Miles above Tintern Abbey.*

For Romance does range all that distance, and when the one end of its range is compared with the other it almost seems as though the word 'Romantic' has two pretty distinct meanings.

The Romance of the Distant

It was of the first kind of Romance that Byron was thinking when he spoke of Horace Walpole's *Castle of Otranto* as the first Romance in our language, a description of it which has been repeated in other words by a later critic:

> Frowning castles and gloomy monasteries, knights in armour and ladies in distress, and monks and nuns and hermits, all the scenery and the characters that have peopled the imagination of the romantic school. may be said to have had their origin on the night when Walpole lay down to sleep, his head crammed full of Wardour Street curiosities, and dreamt that he saw a gigantic hand in armour resting on the banister of his staircase.[1]

The distant (in point of time or of space) can generally be conceived romantically, and whether or not Walpole was our first literary romanticist, he was perhaps our first literary medievalist. He was certainly the first modern Englishman to discover that a Gothic cathedral was beautiful. He actually realized it in an age when 'the very word "gothic" was synonymous with barbaric, and the admiration of an ancient abbey as ridiculous as admiration of Dante'. So to dwell in he built on the banks of the Thames his Strawberry Hill, 'with its gimcracks, its pasteboard battlements and stained paper carvings'.

'Vathek' Beckford did the same thing. He pulled down the Georgian mansion he inherited and instructed his architect to design for him 'an ornamental building that should have the appearance of a convent, be partly in ruins and yet contain

[1] Leslie Stephen on Horace Walpole, in *Hours in a Library*.

some weatherproof apartments'. Five hundred workmen, by the light of the sun by day and that of torches by night, toiled to give Beckford the domestic romance his imagination craved. Twice a great tower was reared and twice it fell, so that this Romantic author soon had around him all the Romantic ruins for which his heart could yearn.

It was a similar Romantic instinct that sent the Bristol musician, R. L. Pearsall, to live in a Swiss monastery, and to compose madrigals in the sixteenth-century style, and, again, that inspired the Bristol boy-poet Chatterton to write his poems in fifteenth-century idiom, to 'find' them in an old chest in a church, and to give them forth as 'written by the good priest, Thomas Rowley, 1464'—much as Walpole had first published his *Castle of Otranto* as a reprint of a black-letter publication of 1529. On a lower plane, it is the knowledge of this existence of a craving for Romance that impels certain second-hand booksellers to adopt the title 'Ye Olde Booke Shoppe', furniture dealers in Tottenham Court Road to make 'gate-legged' tables, and screen impresarios to film scenarios of the Far West.[1]

We may call this kind of Romantic, 'Operatic Romantic'. It is, indeed, welcomed on the Opera stages of all nations, but Germany has been particularly successful in the genre, as is exemplified by, for instance, the libretto of Weber's *Der Freischütz*, or of Wagner's *Tannhäuser* or *Lohengrin*.

The Romance of the 'Sublime'

This Walpole type of Romance, or Operatic Romance, is by no means to be despised. Yet in aesthetic value it is surely far below another type. Compare the Walpole-Beckford 'reaction' to the Gothic with Wordsworth's. He sees an old castle—

[1] E. W. is anxious that the allusion to Pearsall shall not be read to accuse him of trading in mere 'sham antiques'; 'his madrigals seem to me the expression of a very genuine and fine musicianship.'

this huge Castle, standing here sublime,
I love to see the look with which it braves,
Cased in the unfeeling armour of old time,
The lightning, the fierce wind, and trampling waves.[1]

or he meditates in a great College Chapel—

These lofty pillars . . . that branching roof
Self poised, and scooped into ten thousand cells,
Where light and shade repose, where music dwells
Lingering—and wandering on as loth to die;
Like thoughts whose very sweetness yieldeth proof
That they were born for immortality.[2]

The two kinds of Romance, though, of course, they often merge, can, for purposes of classification, be clearly differentiated. One of them, we may say, is more 'external' than the other or, to use other words that mean the same thing, one is more *objective* and the other more *subjective*. Taken together they represent a phase in literature that came about at the end of the eighteenth century and the beginning of the nineteenth—a phase of revolt against the severer, colder style then in vogue.

The Growth of the Romantic Spirit

Our English poet Thomson (1700–48) is an early instance of the coming of the Romantic spirit into poetry. The Romantic tinge in his work seems to us to-day, who know the Lake Poets and all that they brought in their train, to be rather faint and faded; let the comparison, however, be not with them, but with his contemporary, Pope, and we realize that his claim to the title of a romantic pioneer is secure. From classical to romantic has in no art been a sudden revolution, and in literature its stages may be displayed in a simple way by some such juxtaposition as that which follows, of three or four poets' treatment of the same subject.

[1] *Elegiac Stanzas suggested by a picture of Peele Castle in a storm, painted by Sir George Beaumont.*

[2] *Inside of King's College Chapel, Cambridge.*

For me kind nature wakes her genial pow'r,
Suckles each herb, and spreads out every flow'r:
Annual for me the grape, the rose renew
The juice nectareous, and the balmy dew.

That is Pope (*Essay on Man*), and he wrote it in 1732.

And in yon mingled wilderness of flowers,
Fair-handed Spring unbosoms every grace;
Throws out the snowdrop and the crocus first;
The daisy, primrose, violet darkly blue,
And polyanthus of unnumber'd dyes;
The yellow wall-flower, stain'd with iron brown;
The lavish stock, that scents the garden round:
From the soft wing of vernal breezes shed,
Anemones, auriculas, enrich'd
With shining meal o'er all their velvet leaves;
And full ranunculus, of glowing red.

That is Thomson (*The Seasons*). It was written at about the same date as the previous extract. It certainly possesses a greater warmth, and might have been written by a romantically-minded seedsman, inspired by an imaginative reading of his own catalogue.

There scattered oft, the earliest of the year,
By hands unseen, are showers of violets found;
The redbreast loves to build and warble there,
And little footsteps lightly print the ground.

That is Gray; it was written in 1750. It offers us our one genuinely romantic thrill in our favourite *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*. 'And having written this beautiful stanza, full of the true romantic temper, having printed it in two editions, Gray cancelled it, and no doubt the age of acceptance and gentility approved the omission. For what are . . . . . violets and robins warbling round a grave compared with "the muse's flame" and "the ecstasy" of the "living lyre", and such elegant things?'[1]

[1] Theodore Watts-Dunton.

And now listen to the true romantic note—Wordsworth in 1807, singing of daffodils by a lake—

> Continuous as the stars that shine
> And twinkle on the milky way,
> They stretched in never-ending line
> Along the margin of a bay:
> Ten thousand saw I at a glance,
> Tossing their heads in sprightly dance.
>
> The waves beside them danced, but they
> Outdid the sparkling waves in glee:—
> A poet could not but be gay
> In such a jocund company;
> I gazed—and gazed—but little thought
> What wealth to me the show had brought:
>
> For oft when on my couch I lie
> In vacant or in pensive mood,
> They flash upon that inward eye
> Which is the bliss of solitude,
> And then my heart with pleasure fills,
> And dances with the daffodils.[1]

The treatment of any aspect of nature by various poets offers an easy means of tracing the growth of the romantic spirit. We might take rainbows: Thomson's scientifically conceived description, his 'grand ethereal bow', his 'show'ry prism', and his appeal to 'awful Newton' giving way to Wordsworth's impulsive—

> My heart leaps up when I behold
> A rainbow in the sky:
> So was it when my life began;
> So is it now I am a Man;
> So be it when I shall grow old,
> Or let me die!
> The Child is Father of the Man;
> And I could wish my days to be
> Bound each to each by natural piety.

Or we might take mountains; the aesthetic appreciation of

[1] Wordsworth's *I wandered lonely as a cloud.*

mountains belongs almost distinctively to the romantic period, Thomson's 'horrid mountains'—

> all the tract
> Of horrid mountains which the shining Alps,
> And wavy Apennines, and Pyrenees,
> Branch out stupendous into distant lands—

giving place to Wordsworth's—

> Farewell thou little nook of mountain-ground,
> Thou rocky corner in the lowest stair
> Of that magnificent temple which doth bound
> One side of our whole vale with grandeur rare.

'The Renascence of Wonder'

To Theodore Watts-Dunton, who has left us the standard treatment of the subject, the coming of the romantic spirit into poetry (or shall we say the return of the romantic spirit, for Shakespeare and the Elizabethans were full of it) was 'The Renascence of Wonder':

> The phrase 'Renascence of Wonder' merely indicates that there are two great impulses governing man, and probably not man only but the entire world of conscious life: the impulse of acceptance—the impulse to take unchallenged and for granted all the phenomena of the outer world as they are—and the impulse to confront these phenomena with eyes of inquiry and wonder. . . . It would seem that something works as inevitably and as logically as a physical law in the yearning which societies in a certain stage of development show to get away—as far away as possible—from the condition of the natural man; to get away from that despised condition not only in material affairs, such as dress, domestic arrangements and economies, but also in the fine arts and in intellectual methods, till, having passed that inevitable stage, each society is liable to suffer (even if it does not in some cases actually suffer) a reaction, when nature and art are likely again to take the place of convention and artifice.[1]

[1] Essay on *The Renascence of Wonder in Poetry*, by Theodore Watts-Dunton, in Chambers' *Cyclopædia of English Literature*, vol. iii.

In Painting, in Sculpture, in Architecture, and in Music, too, this Antithesis of Classic and Romantic is to be found—and this gradual (or occasionally almost sudden) growth of the one into the other, only to be succeeded in time by the decline of the other into the one.

Formal Beauty and Imaginative Beauty

There are two elements in all art, the element of formal beauty and the element of imagination. Reynolds and Romney were Classics, Constable a Classic-Romantic, Turner a Romantic. The Greek and Roman architects were Classic, the Gothic architects Romantic, the Renascence architects would-be Classic, and the Gothic-revival architects would-be Romantic. Shakespeare was a Romantic, Milton a Romantic-Classic, Pope a Classic, Thomson a Classic-Romantic, Wordsworth a Romantic. Mozart and Haydn were Classics, Beethoven and Schubert Classic-Romantics (or Romantic-Classics), Schumann and Chopin Romantics, and so forth.

The divisions vary in character in the different arts, and I am not at all sure that every reader will agree with my effort to apply them above, but the general fact will not be disputed that in all the arts (and by no means least in that of Music) the tendency of the artist leans in one direction or the other, partly according to his natural temperament, and partly (perhaps more) according to the period in which he happens to live.

Art and Nature

Essentially, as the above poetical quotations will have suggested, the Classic leans more towards 'art' and the Romantic towards 'nature'. Listen to a Frenchman on gardens:

> Kensington Gardens . . . has something of the solemn grandeur of a wood about it—something uncultivated that delights the eye. It is like a good mile of the Forest of

St. Germain in the heart of town. In France, our public gardens are placed under the care of some ex-sergeant, whose ideas never soar beyond obeying the orders of his superior, and keeping everything in line. If a refractory leaf does but attract his attention, *une, deusse*, it disappears! Our trees in the Tuileries look like little green imitations that are put into children's toy farmyards. Good old Abbé Gaultier, from whom we have all learnt a little geography, speaks of the famous park of Versailles, 'where Art has forced Nature'. Over here, Art leaves Nature alone, because the English respect and appreciate her much more than we. Nothing is more imposing than the exuberant beauty of the English parks. Take a walk across them in the early morning, when there is no one stirring, and the nightingale is singing high up in some gigantic tree; it is one of the rare pleasures that you will find within your reach in London. If the morning be fine, you will not fail to be struck with a lovely pearl-grey haze, soft and subdued, that I never saw in such perfection as in the London parks.[1]

We must all go to Kensington Gardens to hear the nightingale! . . . And such, in effect, at the opening of the nineteenth century, was the impulse of the school of Composers now to be discussed. Only sometimes, as they approached, they stopped too long to gaze at the Albert Hall and the Albert Memorial. That, at least, was what Mendelssohn occasionally did. But Chopin and Schumann, arm in arm, passed within the gates —the one of them to stand under the tree and listen to the song, and the other often to be drawn away into sympathetic contemplation of the moods and humours of the holiday-crowd.

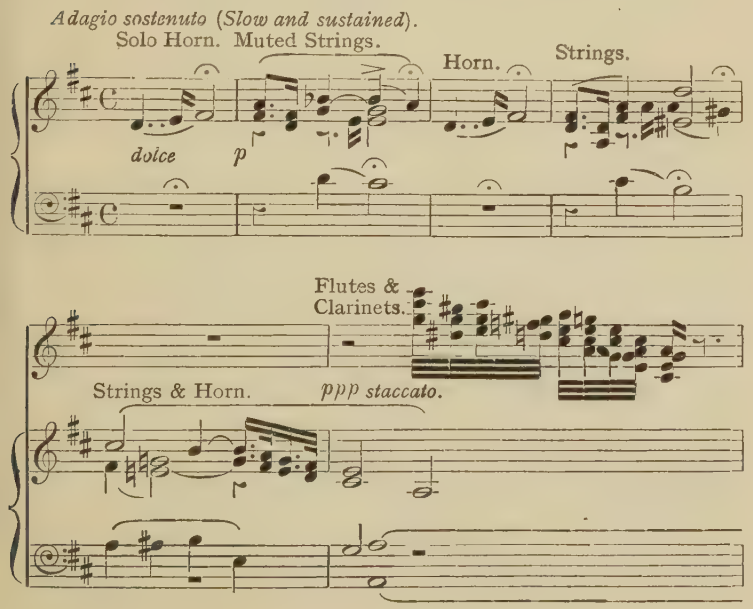
[1] *John Bull and his Island*, by Max O'Rell.

XIV

ROMANCE IN MUSIC

To define 'Romance' in poetry is difficult. To define it in music is impossible. Words will not explain what can only be grasped by the feelings; examples only will serve. And so in this Chapter are given a series of passages from the Romantic composers, passages chosen almost at random, and, when that is realized, marking all the better the swift transition that took place in musical expression during a period of forty years or so at the opening of the nineteenth century.

In the year before Beethoven died was written Weber's Opera *Oberon*. This is how the Overture opens :—



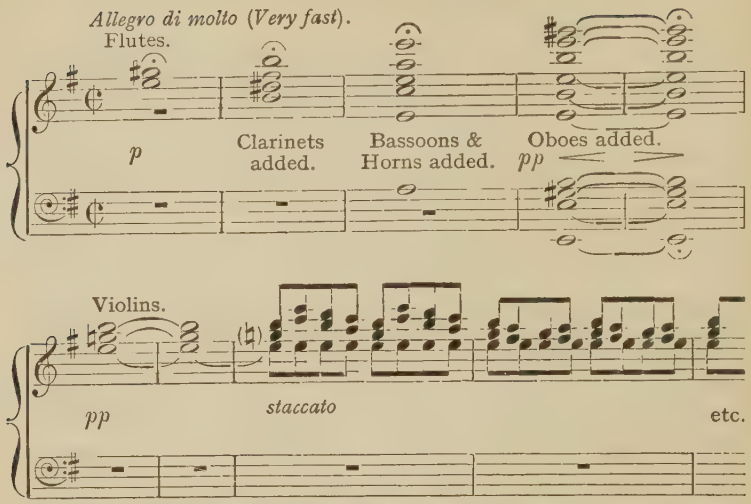
What could be more romantic? From the first note of the horn we are transported into a magic realm. Our minds are at once prepared for the later rising of the curtain upon the 'Fairy garden in Oberon's kingdom; luxuriant blossoms; butterflies; birds; Oberon on a bed of flowers, watched by spirits and fairies'. And unless the stage manager has done his work exceptionally well we shall find that the first bar of the Overture, with its fairy horn call, and the sixth bar, with its Flute and Clarinet fairy footsteps, have done more to evoke the desired atmosphere than all the stage decoration, and, indeed, may feel a sense of disappointment when Fairyland, at first audible, becomes at last also visible.

Beethoven and his Juniors

Beethoven, it is sometimes said, was the first romantic composer. He was in reality both a great classic and a great romantic. Just where the line is to be drawn between the classic school and the romantic school can be decided only arbitrarily, and Beethoven, Janus-like, gazes in two directions. Beethoven's romance is undeniable; a thousand favourite passages come to mind—the bold opening theme of the early 'Heroic' Symphony, the eerie passage between the Scherzo and Finale of the Fifth Symphony, the opening themes of the so-called 'Pastoral' Sonata and the so-called 'Moonlight' Sonata, and so forth. Yet in Weber we get a certain quality of Romance that is lacking in Beethoven. What is it? Is it romance free from its moral implications? Beethoven is in places sublime and in places pathetic and in places very humorous, but there is always a rather formidable 'bigness' about him. Perhaps it is a suppressed didacticism that we feel. Perhaps there are lingering relics of the classic restraint. Perhaps this composer, usually regarded as the creature of impulse, never quite surrenders himself.

Mendelssohn and the Romance of Fairyland

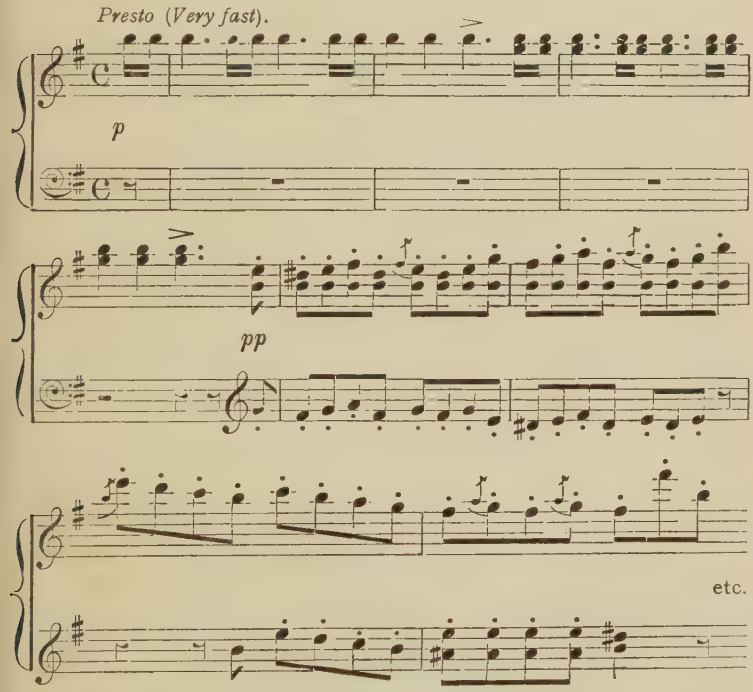
Adequate explanation eludes us, but explanation there must be of this subtle difference between the most romantic passages of Beethoven and the romance of his younger contemporary, Weber. With Beethoven music was (as Carlyle put it, in his attempt to describe music in general) 'a kind of inarticulate, unfathomable speech, which leads us to the edge of the infinite'. With Weber and Mendelssohn comes an airier type of romance, for with the Overture to *Oberon*, and the Overture to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (both written in 1826) 'the fairies entered the orchestra'. Could Beethoven have given us in music Oberon or Puck?



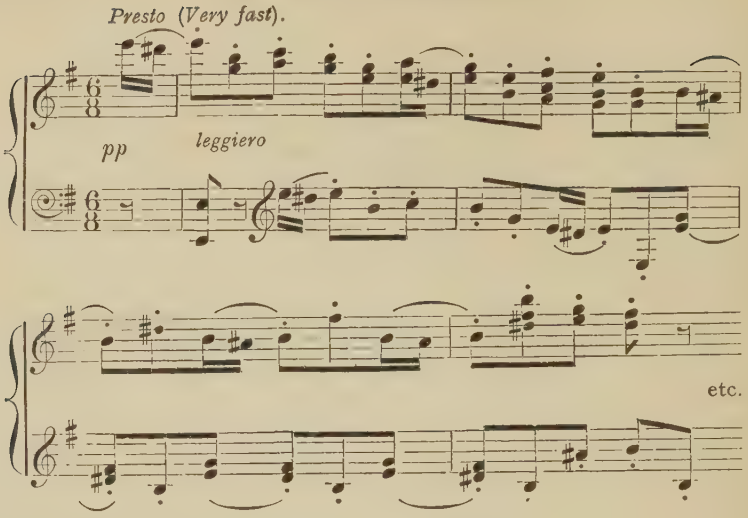
Those four opening chords, said Sir George Grove, 'represent moonlight as well as sound can represent an object of sight'. We are apt to fall in with the suggestion of Beethoven's romantically-minded contemporary, and agree that the opening movement of Op. 27, No. 2 entitles that work to be spoken of as the 'Moonlight Sonata'. But if this be night it is the night of cloud as well as moon, of velvety half-darkness, whereas Mendelssohn's night shines full, clear, and silvery.

The moonlight established by the four chords, there enter Mendelssohn's fairies, tripping lightly, much as do those of Weber. Here again, in the one composer as in the other, is an illustration of the new type of feeling which was coming into music at the opening of the nineteenth century. Bach (particularly), Mozart, and Haydn (e.g. the F minor Piano Variations) had shown some romantic susceptibility. Romance has indeed never been absent from music. But with the group, Weber, Mendelssohn, Schumann, Chopin, Berlioz, and others, Romance instead of remaining an occasional commodity became the very staple of music, existing freely in its own right and not as a mere attribute of sublimity.

Of the romance of fairyland Mendelssohn has been quite the best exponent the world has seen. In many a *Presto* of his do we get the fairy feeling. Here, in the Scherzo in E minor for Piano Solo (suggested to him by a creeping plant with blossoms that seemed to him like trumpets for fairies to blow) is surely again heard (as in Weber) Oberon's fairy-call followed by the trip of his subjects as, in response to the call, they crowd upon the scene.



And in another Piano Solo, the popular *Andante and Rondo Capriccioso* (written, it is thought, in the same year as the *Midsummer Night's Dream* Overture) we surely get the fairies again. The Andante Introduction ends with slow arpeggios and long-held single notes, and then there bursts upon us the fairy troop :

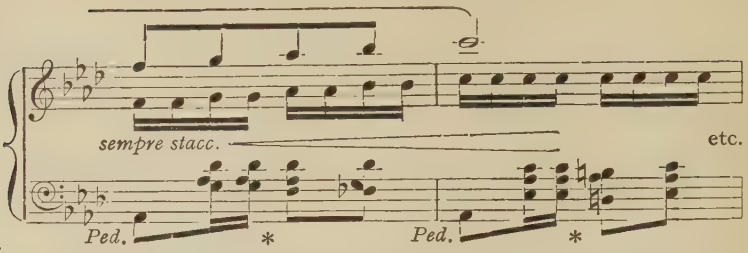


The Reflective Romance of Schumann

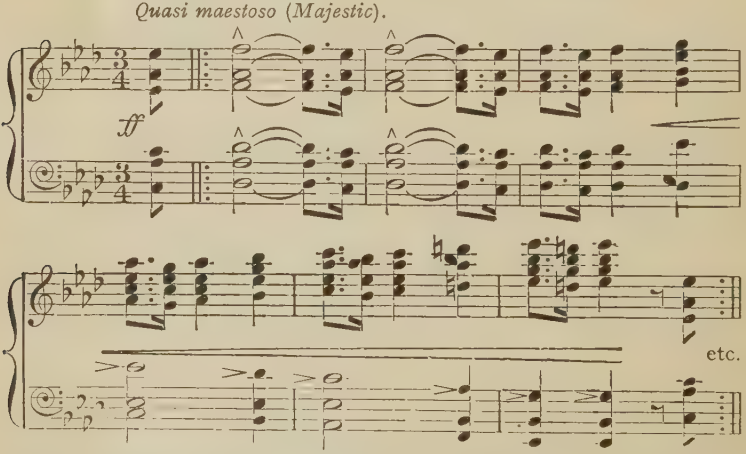
And what of Schumann? Again there is a Romantic quality different in essence from the Romance of Beethoven, though Schumann's frequent reflectiveness and 'moral' tinge bring him nearer to Beethoven than Mendelssohn or Chopin ever came. The three Piano Solos (Op. 28) which bear the actual titles, *Romances*, may be taken as the very epitome of Schumann romance, above all the second:

There is the magician's secret word that in a twinkling carries us from the concert room to some distant shore. But it is not the same fairy shore as that to which Weber and Mendelssohn so often carry us. There is more of the *brooding* quality in Schumann. His touch is not so light as theirs. Schumann has drawn his inspiration less from nature and more from books—the fantastic novels of E. T. A. Hoffmann (himself a minor composer), and the satires and idylls of Jean Paul Richter.

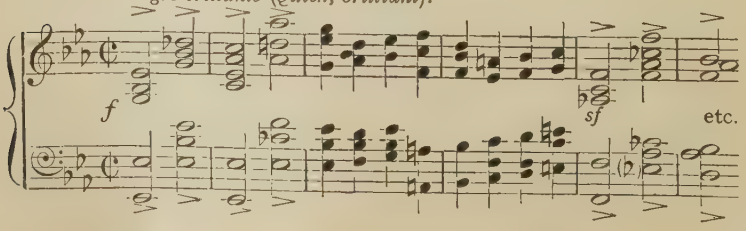
Often Schumann achieves gaiety and light-heartedness, but it is the gaiety and light-heartedness of the fancy-dress ball rather than of fairyland, as in *Reconnaissance* from the *Carnival* set of pianoforte pieces:



A sort of romantic boldness, particularly at the opening of a piece, is a common thing in Schumann. He steps out courageously, the world before him where to choose his place of rest, and he with a staff in his hand and eager curiosity in his heart. Take for example the opening of *Carnival*:



or, better still, the opening of the great Quintet for Pianoforte and Strings:



The Tenderness, Gaiety, and Boldness of Chopin

And what of Chopin? The strange thing is that it seems to be natural to us to class together composers so diverse as Mendelssohn, Schumann, and Chopin, and even to associate with them Weber. These composers differ markedly in their idioms, and, in some subtle way, in the quality of the emotion expressed; somewhat exaggerating, perhaps, we almost say that no piece of any one of them could possibly be mistaken for a piece by another. Individually they stand apart from one another, and, grouped, they stand apart from Beethoven who was at work before them, and from the French, Scandinavian, and other romanticists who were at work after they themselves had lived out their too brief lives.

To take two of the group; is there a piece of Schumann that any one has ever thought for a passing moment to be one of Chopin (unless, just possibly, it be the page of deliberately intended imitation in *Carnival* that he himself called 'Chopin')? Is there a page of Chopin that one has ever thought for a moment to be a page of Schumann? And yet when, in 1831, Schumann offered Chopin the first journalistic recognition he had ever received, with the never-forgotten words, 'Hats off, gentlemen, a genius!' he did so because he undoubtedly saw in him another manifestation of the very romantic spirit that was moving himself. The Yorkshireman and the man of Kent seem to have little in common, but let them meet abroad, surrounded by alien minds, and they foregather as Englishmen. The Englishman and the Frenchman seem to have little in common, but send them to Central China and they associate as Europeans.

The romance of Chopin is very varied. Like Schumann he has seized and expressed the romance of the ball-room, with not only its decorations and shining candelabras and gay costumes, but also its tender whisperings and its sitting-out on the balcony (Valse in C sharp minor, Op. 64, No. 2):

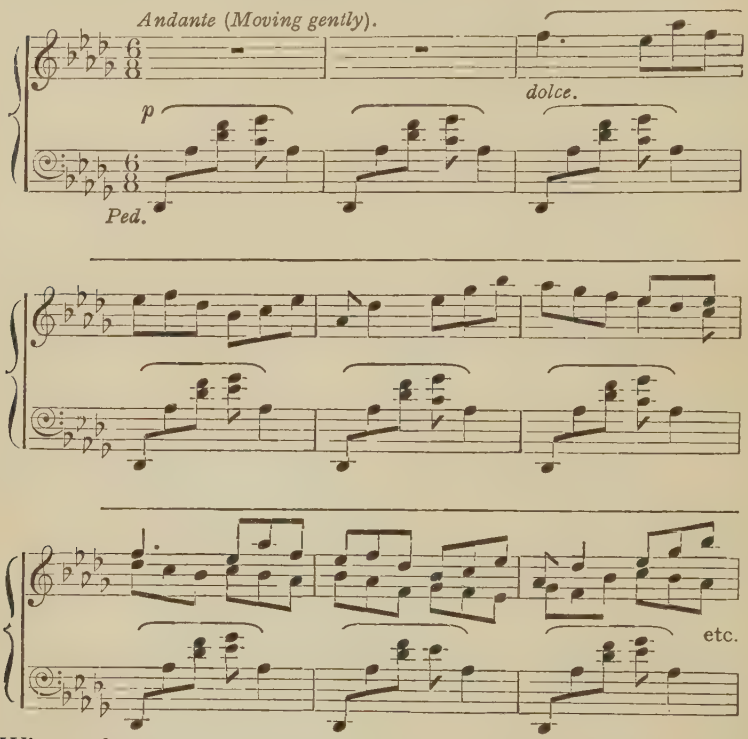
And later:—

The Valse was then in the heyday of its youth, and by comparing the Valses of Weber, Schubert, or Chopin, or the actual dancing valses of Strauss and Lanner, with the Minuets of Haydn and Mozart, we get the measure of the new romantic influences in art and social life. Like Schumann, Chopin has expressed the romance of the bold break-away (Scherzo, Op. 31, generally described as in B flat minor):

Like Mendelssohn, Chopin has been affected by the romance of the moonlight night (Nocturne in D flat, Op. 27, No. 2):

And he has expressed the romantic aspirations of patriotism (Polonaise in A, Op. 40):

He has beautifully expressed, too, the romance of watching, brooding motherhood (*Berceuse*):



What, after all, *is* romance in music? How *is* it achieved? Why *should* this strangely simple piece of Chopin, with its underlying oft-repeated left-hand figures and its plain-sailing right-hand melody (which in repetition develops more and more elaborately into broken-chord passages and chromatic scales), why should it at once lull and fascinate us? Can any one say? Perhaps if they could there would be no romance. Is romance the employment of a sixth sense? Is it the perception of the unknown?

XV

THE MUSICIAN AS LITERARY MAN AND PAINTER

'PROGRAMME MUSIC'

THE change of feeling which came over music during the first third of the nineteenth century is now clear to us. Yet the usual and handy way of defining the change as one from the Classical to the Romantic implies perhaps a change of balance rather than a change of character. By the Classical in any art we chiefly mean that manifestation of the art which places the bigger stress on beauty of form and style; by the Romantic we chiefly mean that manifestation of it which places the bigger stress on expression of emotion. The change, as has already been hinted, came at the same period over all the arts, perhaps not quite simultaneously, but rather in this order—Literature, Painting and Sculpture, Music. In each of them it had a dual character; there was a change both in the ideas expressed and in the manner of expression.

The Expression of 'Ideas' in the Arts

Now, as concerns music, what do we mean by the expression of 'ideas'? Strictly, ideas are the stock-in-trade of the literary man. His very starting point is the 'idea'. Let him lay hold of an original and valuable idea and express it clearly and beautifully and he is completely fulfilling his function.

With the painter or sculptor the 'idea' is less important. The writer discusses, the painter describes. That at least is the primary function of each, for in such literary passages as attempt mere description the writer, however successful in his aim, is engaged in something which the painter can do better, and in such pictures as attempt to tell a story or 'discuss' a principle of life the painter, however successful, is engaged in

something in which he must fall somewhat below the writer.[1] Of course the practice of any art must necessarily be carried out on varying levels; the higher level of literature is, then, discussion (in the widest sense), whilst the higher level of painting is representation (also in the widest sense—not necessarily photographic, of course). When Meredith describes in words the outward charm of his heroine he is, whether he knows it or not, compelled to work upon his lower level, where a painter engaged in the attempt to make us realize those same charms would be working on his higher level.[2] And when Watts pictures 'Hope' he is, though he does not realize it, working upon his lower level, where a poet or prose writer would be working upon his higher level.

Strangely, this sensible theory of the limitations of the various arts, though apparently subconsciously more or less recognized by the greatest artists of all ages, was never clearly

[1] Instead of quoting here from any formal treatise on Aesthetics, let me quote (with a use of italics to make clear the purpose of the quotation) from the personal experience of a philosopher who, at a period of mental suffering, has turned to poetry for relief. John Stuart Mill, in his Autobiography, speaks thus of his study of Wordsworth:

'In the first place these poems addressed themselves powerfully to one of the strongest of my pleasurable susceptibilities, the love of rural objects and natural scenery; to which I had been indebted not only for much of the pleasure of my life, but quite recently for relief from one of my longest lapses into depression. In this power of rural beauty over me there was a foundation laid for taking pleasure in Wordsworth's poetry; the more so, as his scenery lies mostly among mountains, which, owing to my early Pyrrenean excursion, were my ideal of natural beauty. *But Wordsworth would never have had any great effect on me, if he had merely placed before me beautiful pictures of natural scenery.* Scott does this still better than Wordsworth, and *a very second-rate landscape does it more effectually than any poet. What made Wordsworth's poems a medicine for my state of mind, was that they expressed, not mere outward beauty, but states of feeling, and of thought coloured by feeling, under the excitement of beauty.*'

[2] How many male readers, even those most susceptible to female charm, can recall being strongly moved by a writer's description of his heroine—even Homer's of Helen?

formulated until comparatively modern times. Simonides, the great arbiter of ancient thought upon art, is alleged to have said 'poetry is a speaking picture and painting a dumb poem'. If he ever did say it (as Plutarch reports), and meant it to be considered a practical statement, then either he must have qualified it greatly by adding explanation to epigram, or else he was talking with so little consideration of the media and methods of the two arts he mentioned that one would have supposed his fallacy would have at once been exposed by any intelligent chance bystander.

Unfortunately the epigram, in all its crudeness, was accepted, and its misleading analogy seems to have been unquestioned until, in 1766, Lessing published his famous *Laokoon, or the Boundaries of Painting and Poetry*, an unshakable monument to the value of ordinary commonsense and close reasoning even in the study of aesthetics. It is, perhaps, a pity that the composers of the Romantic Period seem to have paid little attention to a philosophical work that was already in their time a classic. They set out upon a journey which had an end worth attaining, but for want of the guidance of reason they often strayed from the direct path.

The Expression of Emotion

If Literature's trump card is discussion (including narrative and drama), if the Pictorial Art's trump card is delineation, what is Music's? . . . Surely the direct expression of emotion. Beauty and Truth are aims of all the arts. They are liberated by Literature chiefly by means of discussion and the dramatic. The Plastic Arts liberate them chiefly by delineation. And the Musical Art liberates them in immediate emotional expression.

Literature or Painting without emotion would be dead, but these two arts express their emotion respectively through the media of ideas and of pictorial reproduction. With them there is the interposition of the concrete, whereas with Music

there is no such interposition. Shakespeare conveys emotion to us by (it may be) the dramatic reproduction of a moment in history; Turner conveys it by (it may be) the pictorial representation of a sunset; Beethoven conveys it direct.

It may happen that some deeply moving incident in Beethoven's own life has aroused an emotion of passion: he can transfer the emotion to us without first informing us of the occurrence which aroused it—therein, in a sense, excelling the dramatist. It may be that some natural scene of placid beauty has aroused in him an emotion of peace; he can transfer the emotion to us without first painting the picture—therein excelling the pictorial artist.

That is precisely where music stands supreme, and as it is the duty of each of us to do most what we can do best, Music's main duty is the evocation of our sense of the beautiful through the expression of emotion.[1]

Music as Illustration

To that ideal composers had generally remained faithful. Bach's and Handel's achievement, or Haydn's and Mozart's, might be very adequately described in those very words—the evocation of our sense of the beautiful through the expression of emotion, or, changing the figure a little without much changing its sense, the expression of emotion by means of tonal beauty.

But in an Opera or an Oratorio these composers had a series of literary or pictorial ideas to work upon, and to some extent they made their music an illustration. In his

[1] 'You can attach any ideas you please to music, but music, if you will forgive me saying so, rejects them all equally. Art has to do with emotions, not with ideas, and the great defect of literature is that it can only express emotions by means of ideas. What makes music the greatest of all the arts is that it can express emotions without ideas. Literature can appeal to the soul only through the mind. Music goes direct. Its language is a language which the soul alone understands, but which the soul can never translate.'—ARNOLD BENNETT.

Matthew Passion Bach, accompanying the Recitative that tells how the veil of the Temple was rent in twain gives the organist or harpsichordist very rapid left-hand scales to accentuate the thought of tearing. Haydn in *Creation* is very pictorial or literary. He vividly suggests the creation of light, he offers musical hints of thunder, wind, the river, the sea, the tiger, the horse, the dove, the lark, fish, and insects—naïvely yet by no means altogether unsuccessfully. Mozart is less fond of the pictorial and the literary, but in his operas his orchestra often vividly underlines the sense of the words.

Composers in all ages have done this sort of thing and have then, on occasion, gone a step farther in attempting pictorial or literary suggestion in purely instrumental music. Thus Bach has a *Capriccio on the Departure of a Beloved Brother*, with (*Adagio*) 'A coaxing by his friends, to persuade him to give up his journey'; (*Andante*) 'A Representation of the various occurrences that might happen to him in a strange country'; (*Adagissimo*) 'The general lamentation of his friends'; (*Alla Marcia*) 'The friends gather to take leave of him, since they see it cannot be otherwise, and bid him farewell'; (*Adagio poco*) 'The Postillion', and lastly a 'Fugue in Imitation of the Postillion's Horn'.

Bach's contemporary, Kuhnau, published in 1700 a *Musical Representation of some Biblical Stories in Six Sonatas.* Before each Sonata he tells the story in letterpress and then in the Sonata repeats it in music, with some further literary indications added as he goes along. Thus the First Sonata is *The Fight between David and Goliath*, and the various movements are headed 'The Boasts of Goliath'; 'The Trembling of the Israelites before the Giant, and their prayer to God'; 'The Courage of David and his longing to lower the pride of the terrible enemy, with his confidence in the help of God'; 'The Fight between the Two—the pebble is slung from the sling into the giant's forehead—Goliath falls—flight of the Philistines, who are pursued and annihilated by the Israelites';

'The joy of the Israelites over their victory'; 'The Musical Performance of the women in honour of David'; 'The general rejoicings and the happy dances of the populace'.

Similarly, but with less dependence upon detailed representation, Haydn wrote for Good Friday use in the Cathedral of Cadiz a series of seven slow orchestral pieces on the Seven Words from the Cross, followed by a quick one entitled 'The Earthquake'.

Then came Beethoven with his Pianoforte Sonata (Op. 81 a, in E flat) of which the three Movements are entitled, 'The Farewell', 'Absence', and 'The Return'; his '*Rondo a capriccio—Rage over a Lost Penny*';[1] and his *Pastoral Symphony, or Recollections of Country Life*, which he described as 'more expression of feeling than painting', but which yet included a placidly flowing 'Scene at the Brook' Movement, the imitation of bird songs, a 'Happy Gathering of the Peasants' (with a hint of a village orchestra), a 'Thunderstorm' and a 'Shepherd's Song—Gratitude and Thanksgiving after the Storm'.

Beethoven's description, 'More expression of feeling than painting' would apply to large stretches of all such pieces before and during the period, except perhaps some cheap battle-pieces and other feeble efforts, and so it would apply, too, to large stretches of most of the 'Programme Music' (for so we call music of this class) of the Romantic Period, now to be discussed.

The Growing Literary Interests of Composers

The Romantic Period brought with it an immense increase of composition of this kind, and one reason is obvious. Composers were becoming less narrowly composers; they

[1] E. W. remarks—'The Op. 129 Rondo is posthumous, and I can't myself believe that Beethoven would have retained in print the queer joke he scrawled on his MS. When it came to publication he discarded such ebullitions, as in the case of the Adagio of the first Rasoumovsky.'

were becoming active readers and writers; their interest was increasingly shared between music and literature. Bach, Handel, Haydn, Mozart, and even Beethoven had not been 'bookish' men; Weber, Berlioz, Schumann, Liszt, and Wagner decidedly were such. Weber and Schumann (the latter the son of a book publisher) dipped deeply into the writings of the German romantic novelists, poets, and philosophers, and both of them themselves wrote a good deal, so that they ranked not merely as composers and performers, but also as active music critics. Amongst the French composers Berlioz, for one, read largely; he revelled in Shakespeare, Byron, and Scott, he was for years the official music critic of an important Paris newspaper, and he left a number of volumes on musical subjects. Liszt associated much with literary men and women in Paris, steeped himself at different times in the works of Hugo, Lamartine, George Sand, and others, and left a large body of literary work. Wagner made a deep study of national legend, read extensively on all manner of subjects, and fancied himself a philosopher; his literary works fill as many volumes as those of some men whose whole lives have been given to literary composition.

It was a new type of musical mind that had arisen, a mind teeming with literary images, and the result was seen in the music of the period.

Weber and Schumann

Weber's instrumental works are not his most important, but are not to be neglected. Such pieces as the *Invitation to the Dance*, with its 'Approach of the dancers' (bars 1 to 5), 'The lady's evasive reply' (5 to 9), 'Her consent' (13 to 16), and so forth (he himself supplied these indications in a spoken commentary when playing the piece to his wife), and his *Concert Piece* (Op. 79), with its story of a crusading knight and his lady, show plainly this literary tendency.

Such a tendency is, however, much more marked in

Schumann, the titles of whose pieces make up a very different looking list from that of any predecessor. We have *Butterflies* ('Papillons'), a set of twelve pieces suggested by a description of a masked ball in Jean Paul Richter; *Carnival*, a similar set with such titles for the separate movements as 'Pierrot' and 'Harlequin', some movements named after living persons, and some others named after imaginary characters; *Novelettes*, *Pictures from the East*, *Woodland Scenes*, *Fairy-tale Pictures* ('Märchenbilder'), *Kreisleriana* (suggested by E. T. A. Hoffmann's fantastic musical novel of the same name)—and so on. Some of Schumann's romantic titles came to his mind after he had finished his compositions, but the definite way in which his musical imagination was sometimes stimulated by his reading may be seen in his account, in a letter, of the composition of the last number of *Butterflies*.

> You remember the last scene of *Flegeljahre*[1]—masked dance—Walt—Vult—masks—Wina—Vult's dancing—the exchange of masks—confessions—indignation—revelation—hurried departure—final scene and then the departing brother. I kept turning over the last page, since the end seemed to me to be merely a new opening, and almost without realizing it I found myself sitting at the piano, and then one *Papillon* after another came to life.

Mendelssohn and Chopin

Mendelssohn was less directly influenced by his reading, though we do see its influence in his *Midsummer Night's Dream* Overture, his *Calm Sea and Prosperous Voyage* Overture (based on Goethe), his *Melusina* Concert Overture (based on

[1] Jean Paul Richter's romantic novel, much in the style of Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, which had been published eight or nine years earlier. It expresses ideals idyllically. The characters Walt and Vult are representative of two sides of the author's personality just as are Schumann's Eusebius and Florestan in the *Carnival* already alluded to. Indeed Eusebius and Florestan were evolved by Schumann out of Walt and Vult. ('Flegel', literally 'flail' = a rough, unmannerly person; 'Flegeljahre' = youthful years.)

legend) and elsewhere. He was very responsive to natural scenery, and the recollections of his travels inspired such works as the *Italian* and *Scottish* Symphonies and the *Hebrides* (or *Fingal's Cave*) Concert Overture.

Chopin, though associating much with writers and painters, was less literary and more purely musical than either Schumann or Mendelssohn. Like these two contemporaries he wrote a great number of short characteristic pieces, but where these were not based on dance forms, such as the Waltz, the Mazurka or the Polonaise, they bore vague titles such as 'Prelude', 'Study', or 'Nocturne'.

Berlioz

In Berlioz we find a very distinct example of literary influence. He based works on Shakespeare (Overture to *King Lear*, Dramatic Symphony—*Romeo and Juliet*); Scott (Overtures to *Waverley* and *Rob Roy*); Byron (Overture to *The Corsair*, and *Harold in Italy*, the latter a symphony with viola obbligato).

With Berlioz we see a more definite application of literary ideas than with (say) Schumann. He often sticks pretty closely to a story. How is such a thing to be done—in a piece of serious music? The instrumental music discussed in the First Volume of this History consisted chiefly of Fugues, Suites, and Sonatas: all forms which have come into existence as a response to a psychological need for variety combined with unity (see Vol. I, p. 116), and also for a sort of symmetry that we may call an architecture in time as cathedral building is an architecture in space. Can such a demand be met whilst at the same time a 'programme' of incidents or thoughts (and here we see the meaning of the technical term 'Programme Music') is also followed?

How is the old form of symphonic 'First Movement', with its contrasted 'subjects', its 'development' of them and its 'recapitulation', to be superposed on a dramatic and emotional

scheme the sections of which may happen to fall quite differently? Roughly speaking a 'First Movement' or 'Sonata Form' piece ends as it began (with the same two tunes in the same order in relation to one another), whilst a drama or story moves ever forward towards a conclusion which may differ widely from the opening. A simple 'Concert Overture', such as those of Mendelssohn or some of those of Berlioz, may aim at nothing beyond a representation of the general emotional tinge of the literary work upon which it is based *plus* a suggestion of some main characters or incidents in the 'themes', 'tunes', or 'subjects' and in one or two passages in which this subject matter is treated by processes of 'development'. But such music as this, though we may call it 'Programme Music', is not such in the severest application of the term, since it is not fitted in detail to a previously existent 'programme' of events or of literary ideas.

Obviously for the fullest 'programmatic' treatment of music some more flexible method is required, and Berlioz invented one. He introduced what he called the 'fixed idea' (*idée fixe*). Let us examine cursorily his 'Fantastic' Symphony.

Here (translated into English) is the 'Introduction' which Berlioz himself supplied for this work.

EPISODE IN THE LIFE OF AN ARTIST

FANTASTIC SYMPHONY IN FIVE SECTIONS

The Composer's aim has been to develop, *in such a way as they may be musical*, different situations[1] in the life of an artist.

The plan of the instrumental drama, deprived of the help of words, needs to be set out in advance. The following programme must then be considered like the spoken [*sic*], text of an opera, serving to pave the way for pieces of music, and providing the motives for their character and determining the expression.

[1] M. Adolphe Boschot, in *La Jeunesse d'un Romantique*, remarks that Berlioz has already contradicted his title in explaining that we have here not one episode, but several episodes.

It would be beyond the scope of this book to discuss all that is or is not implied by Berlioz' various procedures; but it is easy to realize that the full Programme would have very great value to those who first heard this novel work; and there can be no harm, and nothing but interest for us, in taking in the full Programme, if we remember that Berlioz subsequently eliminated all but the titles of the movements. At any rate, here is the whole thing.

I.—*Reveries. Passions.*

A young musician possessed of a weakly sensibility and an ardent imagination finds himself in that state of soul which Chateaubriand has so admirably depicted in *René*. Vague reveries; turns of melancholy and joy without precise cause; delicious troublings of a sentimental adolescent.—Suddenly he sees a woman: the ideal woman, such as he had dreamed of, 'Ideal of beauty and charms for which his heart had long cried out'.—Straightway, volcanic love, delirious anguish, fury, jealousy; then returns of tenderness, tears, and, at last, religious consolations.

II.—*A Ball.*

The Artist is placed in utterly different circumstances of life, in the midst of *the tumult of a Fête* . . . The cherished image appears before him and casts trouble into his soul.

III.—*Scene in the Country* (*Adagio*).

It is evening. In the distance two herdsmen answer one another, in dialogue, with a *ranz des vaches*.[1] All things join to give back to his heart a long-lost serenity. Then *She* appears. His soul is filled with painful forebodings. Will she prove false to him? One of the herdsmen takes up his tune again, but the other does not reply . . . Sunset . . . distant thunder . . . solitude . . . silence.

IV.—*March to the Scaffold.*

He dreams he has murdered the woman he loves, that he

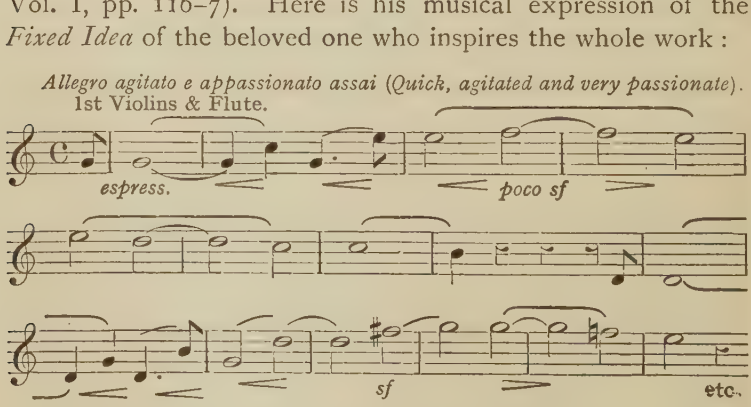
[1] 'Calling the Cows.' Melody played by Swiss herdsmen on the Alpine horn. Cf. the famous *Ranz des vaches* in Rossini's Overture to *William Tell*.

is under sentence of death, and is being led to execution. The procession moves on, to a March that is now sombre and savage, now brilliant and solemn.

V.—*Dream of a Witches' Sabbath.*

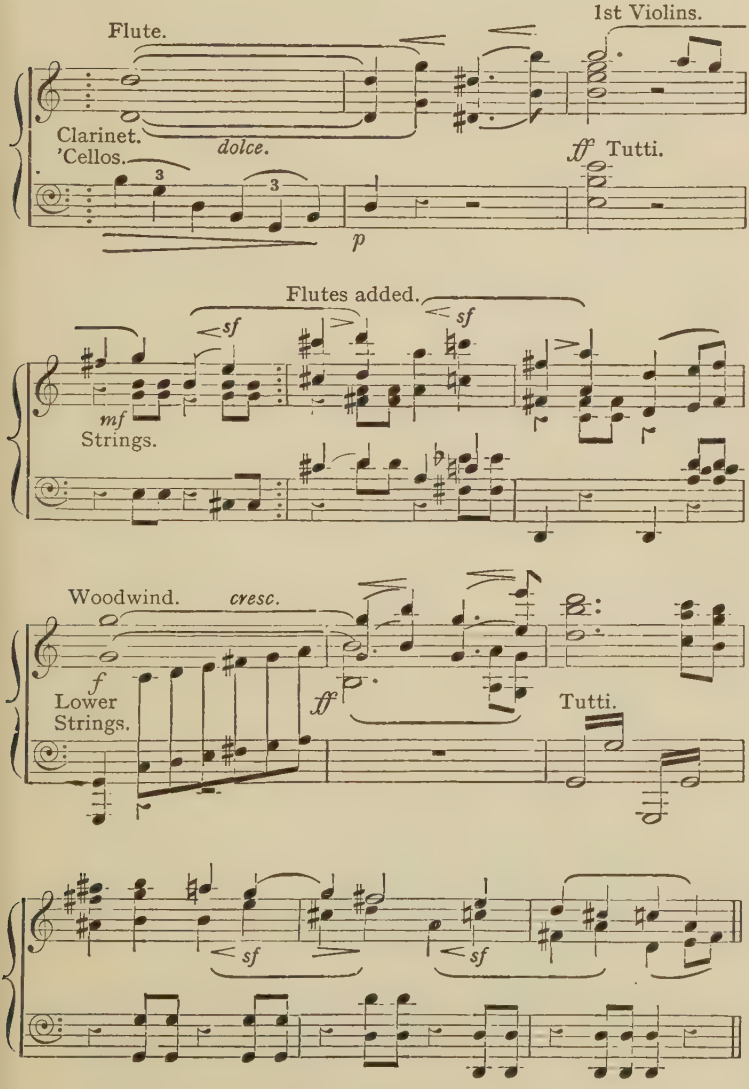
He sees himself at the Witches' Revels, surrounded by fearful ghosts, sorcerers, and monsters of all sorts who have come to attend his funeral. Weird noises, groans, shrieks of laughter, and distant cries answered by other cries. The Tune of the Beloved recurs, but it has no longer its noble and timid character; now it is no more than a trivial, grotesque dance-tune, a low cabaret tune; it is *She* who joins the Witches' Sabbath. Howls of joy welcome her. She joins in the hellish orgy. Funeral bells and a mocking parody of the *Dies Irae.*

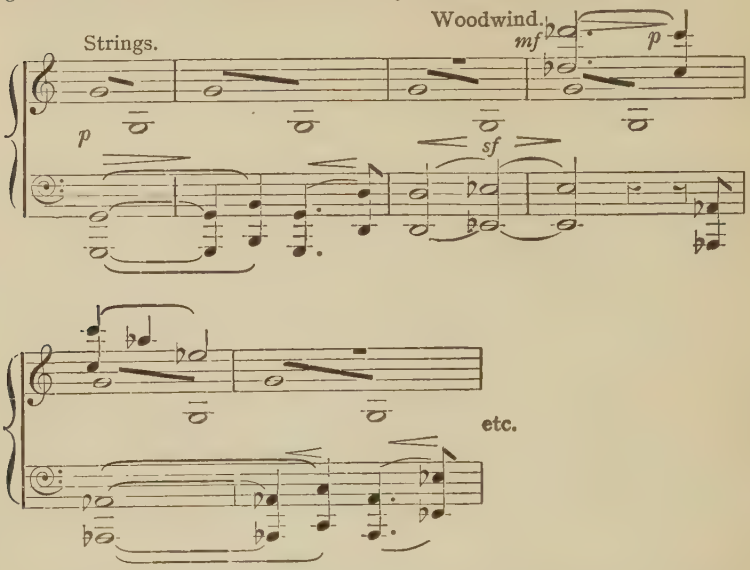
Such is Berlioz' Programme for his 'Fantastic' Symphony. Now he manages, in the First Movement, to express very powerfully and vividly the emotions which he has indicated, while yet keeping very close to the usual form—of Exposition of subject-matter, Development, and final Recapitulation (see Vol. I, pp. 116–7). Here is his musical expression of the *Fixed Idea* of the beloved one who inspires the whole work:



In this form, with some extension, but with practically no accompaniment, it constitutes the First Subject of the First Movement. How truly this is the 'fixed idea' of the First Movement may be imagined when one finds that it is also used

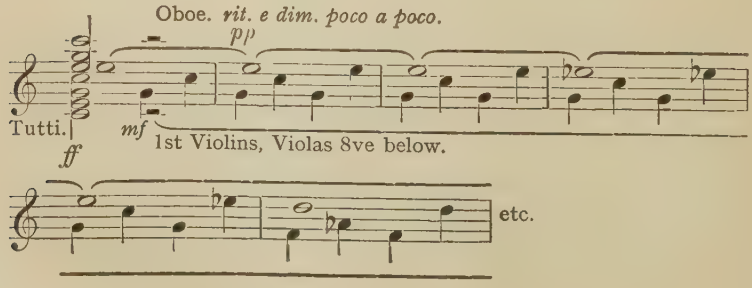
for his Second Subject, and sees how the Development Section begins. Thus :



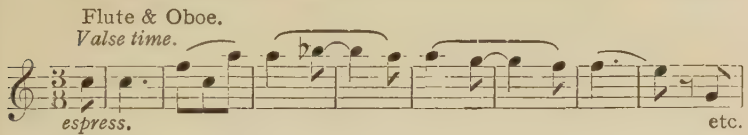


It is remarkable that in such a piece as this Berlioz is able to make the usual formal repetition of the Exposition, though this repetition (from the double-bar) cannot well be shown here.

This *Fixed Idea*, this theme of the Beloved, is indeed made, in this Movement, to express the violent and conflicting emotions which the Artist's soul undergoes. The final 'religious consolations' (a succession of very soft, slow, solemn chords) are thus prepared :



The Beloved haunts the gay Ball of the Second Movement:



The role of the *Fixed Idea* in the next two Movements must now be passed over. But its hideous travesty in the Witches' Sabbath (see the Programme above) must be quoted. It is given to the shrill E flat Clarinet.

Liszt.

Liszt was quite as much affected by literary and pictorial influences as Berlioz, and more ready to disregard existing forms. He was inspired by Dante, writing a *Dante* Symphony, with movements 'Inferno', 'Purgatorio' and 'Magnificat', and by Goethe, writing a *Faust* Symphony (dedicated to Berlioz, himself, by the way, the composer of a notable choral-orchestral treatment of the same subject), with movements 'Faust', 'Gretchen', and 'Mephistopheles'. He also wrote a number of what he called 'Symphonic Poems' (the first use of a term which has since become very common). The titles of a few of these will show the detailed literary bent of their Composer's mind—*Tasso* (after Byron and Goethe), *The Preludes* (after Lamartine's 'Poetic Meditations'), *Mazeppa* (after Byron), *Slaughter of the Huns* (after a fresco by Kaulbach, in Berlin), *The Ideals* (after a poem by Schiller), *Hamlet.* There is also a *Dance of Death* (with piano) after Orcagna's fresco at Pisa.

In his pianoforte music Liszt was almost as literary and pictorial—*Benediction of God in Solitude* (after Lamartine), *Years of Pilgrimage* ('William Tell's Chapel', 'On the Lake of Wallenstadt', 'The Valley of Obermann', 'Sposalizio'—

'The Betrothal'—on Raphael's picture, 'Three Sonnets of Petrarch', 'After a Reading of Dante', &c.), *Legends* ('St. Francis of Assisi' and 'St. Francis of Paola') *Consolations* (after Sainte-Beuve), and so on . . . and so on!

Quite evidently with Liszt we have entered fully into the domain of literary and pictorial music, and are hundreds of miles from the Fugues of Bach and the Symphonies of Mozart.

Liszt sometimes gives us an actual 'programme', which he carefully defines as 'any preface, in intelligible language, added to a piece of instrumental music, by means of which the composer intends to guard the listener against a wrong poetical interpretation, and to direct his attention to the poetical idea of the whole or to a particular point in it'.

The Liszt Symphonic Poem, whilst it may embody all the variety of the several Movements of a Symphony, is one piece from beginning to end. A device much akin to that of the 'fixed idea' of Berlioz enables the composer to express all his ideas on the different aspects of a literary subject and yet to bind the piece into unity. It is the device of the 'metamorphosis of themes'—the same tune or subject appearing over and over again, varied melodically, harmonically, and rhythmically, yet not sufficiently so as to preclude the listener's recognition of it. He may, on occasion, relate his themes to persons and then vary them as different aspects of personality or different emotional states are to be represented. And he has other devices. An actual Liszt 'Programme' as printed on the score of one of his compositions may be given. That which is prefaced to the score of *Tasso* may be thus rendered into English:

TASSO

LAMENT AND TRIUMPH

In 1849 all Germany celebrated with splendour the hundredth anniversary of the birth of Goethe. We[1] were

[1] Liszt uses the First Person Plural—authorial or royal?

then at Weimar, where, among the commemorations, was planned, for the evening of 28th August, a performance of his Drama *Tasso*.

The misfortunes of fate of the most unfortunate of poets had fired the imaginations of the most powerful poetic geniuses of our time, Goethe and Byron; Goethe, whose lot fell among the most brilliant successes: Byron, whose advantages of birth and fortune were counterbalanced by such lively sufferings. We cannot deny that when we were commissioned, in 1849, to write an overture for Goethe's Drama, we were more directly inspired by the reverent compassion [*respectueuse compatissance*] of Byron for the spirit of the great man that he was evoking, than by the work of the German poet. All the same, Byron, while transmitting to us in some sort the groanings of Tasso in his prison, was unable to unite with the memory of his poignant sorrows, so nobly and eloquently expressed in his *Lamentation*, that of the Triumph which awaited, by a tardy but shining justice, the chivalric author of *Jerusalem Delivered*. We have wished to indicate this contrast in the very title of our work, and would have liked successfully to give form to this great antithesis, of the genius who, ill-treated during his life, shines forth after his death with such power as would crush his persecutors.

Tasso loved and suffered at Ferrara; he was avenged at Rome; his glory is yet living in the popular songs of Venice. These three stages are inseparable from his immortal memory. To render them in music we have first conjured up the great shade of the hero, even as it appears to us to-day haunting the lagoons of Venice; we have then caught sight of his haughty, saddened countenance as he glides through the fêtes of Ferrara, where his masterpieces first saw the light of day; finally we have followed him to Rome, the Eternal City, which in crowning him glorified in him the martyr and the poet. F. Liszt.

Liszt tells us that Tasso's 'glory is yet living in the popular songs of Venice'. As a matter of fact, the very theme out of which he makes the whole Symphonic Poem is a tune which he heard the Venetian gondoliers singing on the lagoons to verses of Tasso.

Here is the first and most important part of the song:

Here are the opening bars of the work, using the characteristic close of each 'sentence' of (*a*):

Before we leave this work, three of the most significant 'metamorphoses' of the theme may be quoted.

(*c*) is the beginning of the Second Section of the work—Ferrara (see Liszt's programme).

(*d*) is the beginning of the final triumph at Rome. This form of the Tune is worked up until it is loudly declaimed by the whole Orchestra.

(*e*) is the complete climax. At the top is (*a*), broadened out and put into major, below the bass accompanies with the triplet figure shown in (*b*), itself taken from (*a*). (There are also several Percussion effects, and surging Upper Strings arpeggios, not shown here.)

(*c*)

Allegretto mosso con grazia (*quasi Menuetto*) (*Fairly quick, with grace—like a Minuet*).

2 Solo 'Cellos.

Other 'Cellos, Violas & D. Basses, all *pizz.*

mf espress.

p

Bassoons & 2nd Vlns. added.

etc.

(*d*)

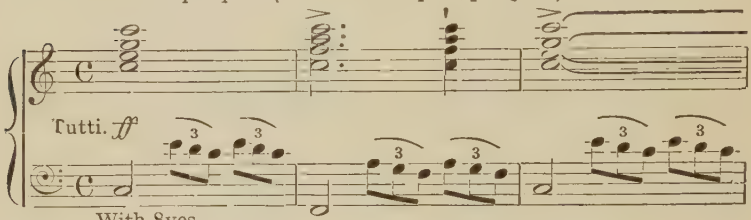
Allegro con molto brio (*Quick, with much vigour*).

p

All Strings.

(*e*)

Moderato pomposo (*At a moderate pace, pompous*).



The Romantic Forms

The Romantic Movement in music may be said to have brought into existence three new forms, (1) the Concert Overture of Mendelssohn, (2) the Set of Characteristic Piano Pieces, such as Schumann's *Papillons* and *Carnival*, and (3) the Symphonic Poem of Liszt. All these are, in their varying degrees, forms of ' Programme Music '. And in addition there was (4) a great increase of activity in the writing of independent short piano pieces such as the ' Songs Without Words ' of Mendelssohn and the Nocturnes and Studies and Preludes of Chopin.

Improvements in the piano and in orchestral instruments,

giving the composer greater scope for free poetical expression, were a great factor in the increased romanticization of music, but of course a far greater one was the coming together of literary men, painters, and musicians, so that their minds reacted on one another; and the greatest of all was the influence of the Romantic School in literature—the two Schlegels, Tieck, Novalis, Uhland, Jean Paul Richter, E. T. A. Hoffmann (himself a composer) and others in Germany, Chateaubriand, Lamartine, Hugo and others in France, Scott and Byron in Britain.

The Romantic Temper

Hugo said that Romanticism was 'simply liberalism in literature'. The Lake School in English Poetry, Blake, the Oxford Movement, Christian Socialism in religion, both Turner and Pre-Raphaelitism in painting, the Gothic revival in architecture—all sorts of manifestations of the romantic temper are bound up together in the history of the first half of the nineteenth century, which, curiously, was also the period of railway development and of the growth of a huge crop of tall chimneys. That the age of Shakespearean romance should have been an age of exploration and conquest is not surprising; that the age of the revival of the romantic should have been the age of steam power seems at first sight not quite so natural. Perhaps it is owing to the chance that at the moment when the romantic temper of the Shakespearean period became due for a re-birth the movement for scientific investigation initiated by Shakespeare's contemporary, Bacon, had attained a development which enabled it to emerge fully into the field of practical affairs. Besides, there is a romance of science and a romance of commerce, and perhaps we are too apt to forget the workings of romantic impulse in realms other than those of Art.

In closing this chapter a few words may be added as to the principles upon the observance of which success depends in the composition of Programme Music.

Success and Failure in 'Programme Music'

Earlier in the chapter was made the passing suggestion that in some measure the Romantic Composers went astray in their application of the Programme Music conception. The places where they went astray were the places where they put too much weight on the 'programme', making enjoyment of the music too entirely dependent upon a following of the series of incidents or ideas bound up with it.

When Chekov told a brother novelist to 'cut out all those pages about the moonlight, and give us what you really feel about it' he gave good counsel, and counsel which becomes still better when offered to the musician. As Prior put it, more than two centuries ago,

> Your musick's power your musick must disclose
> For what light is 'tis only light that shows.[1]

Unless the music *quâ* music is intelligible and strong and beautiful no 'programme' will avail to save it—at any rate to save it for more than the period of a generation that is carried away by its novelty. Very much of the enormous mass of Programme Music of the nineteenth century is already dying or dead because its composers did not realize the difference between illustrator and artist. And some of that of the twentieth century is bound to follow it.

[1] *To the Countess of Exeter playing upon the Lute.* Strictly, Prior intended this as a reflection upon the impossibility of describing musical performances in words, but it seems fair to widen the application a little. 'Music must speak for itself', and no critic, nor even the composer himself in the most carefully drafted 'programme', can speak for it.

Wagner, with all his admiration for his father-in-law, Liszt (Programme Music's very prophet), said (1877), 'In instrumental music I am a reactionary. I do not like music that requires explanation beyond the actual sounds.' But then Wagner found his outlet for music and explanation elsewhere than in instrumental music. If he had not been the greatest music-dramatist the world has known he would certainly have been its greatest Programme Music composer.

XVI

ROMANTIC SONG

SOMETHING must now be said about the German 'Lied'.[1] It is a product of Romanticism, being due to the rise of the Romantic School in German poetry and the development of Romantic feeling in music, and especially of Romantic harmony through the work of Beethoven and Schubert.

Beethoven himself was hardly a song-writer; the few songs he wrote bulk as nothing against his instrumental music, and in quality are far surpassed by it. Schubert, however, was a born song-writer, and must be regarded as the founder of the German *Lieder* school. As already related in the previous volume, he wrote over 600 songs, and with him began the wholesale song production of the German composers; e.g. Schumann over 200, Franz over 300, Brahms about 200, Wolf over 500. Frequently the songs were composed as series, being settings of either a definite cycle or at least an ordered collection of poems, e.g. Schubert's *Miller Songs* ('Müllerlieder'), settings of twenty poems from *The Lovely Maid of the Mill* ('Die Schöne Müllerin') by William Müller; Schubert's *Winter Journey* ('Winterreise'), settings of twenty-four poems by the same poet; Schumann's *Poet's Love* ('Dichterliebe'), sixteen settings of Heine; Schumann's *Woman's Love and Life* ('Frauenliebe und Leben'), settings of poems by Chamisso; Brahms's *Fifteen Romances from Tieck's 'Magelone'*; Wolf's *Songs of Mörike,* forty-four settings; *Songs of Eichendorff*, twenty settings; *Songs of Goethe,* thirty-seven settings; *Spanish Song Book*, forty-four settings—and so forth.

[1] Properly 'Lied' means simply 'song'; 'Volkslied' means 'Folk Song', 'Volksthümliches Lied' means 'Folk-like Song', 'Kunstlied' means 'Art Song', &c. The word 'Lied' has come, however, to possess a somewhat specialized meaning, the character of which will be gathered from the present discussion of the subject.

Songs had been composed since music began, but never until now had there been quite such a spate of them. And never had songs possessed the intensely romantic quality of those now composed.

In this last characteristic they merely reflected the spirit of the poetry of the day. Frederick Schlegel, one of the pioneers of German Romanticism, distinguished between the Classical school of poetry, which was then waning, and the Romantic school, that was then waxing, by calling the product of the first 'die schöne Poesie' ('The Poetry of Beauty') and that of the second 'die interessante Poesie' ('The Poetry of Interest').

And so with the music set to the two kinds of poetry: the one aims primarily at beauty of vocal contour and the other at characterization of the spirit of the poem, and often of its minute details—the song music of beauty and the song music of interest.

The German 'Lied' of the early nineteenth century may be of one of two kinds—it may be a Verse Song (the Germans call this 'volksthümlich', i.e. in the folk style, the same setting for each stanza), or it may be 'through-composed' ('durchcomponiert'), the music varying verse by verse and following word by word the mood-pictures of the poem. In either case the chief aim is to express in music the spirit of the poem as a whole, and in the latter case there is an attempt to go beyond this general expression and to treat the poem with a musical-dramatic parallelism.

A powerful means of characterization in either case is the enhanced interest given to the piano part; song has now become in many cases, not, so to speak, a solo with accompaniment, but a duet between voice and instrument. To quote just one example known to everybody, Schubert's *Erl King* is obviously as much a piano piece as a song.

The subjects treated represent in very fair proportion the subjects popular amongst the poets. There is a great revival of interest in legend, and so we have songs about the Erl King

and the Lorelei; there is a revival of interest in nature, and so we get songs about gloomy forests, and 'Wood Loneliness', and trees in blossom, and birds, and brooks, and moonlight, and meadows, and the wayside spring, and the open road, and the wandering apprentice; and there is a renewed national feeling (encouraged by the spirit of opposition to Napoleon) and so come songs lauding the sacred Rhine and the German Fatherland.

Of course the thing was overdone. Romain Rolland's hero, John Christopher, when he inherited this huge mass of romantic song, rebelled—

> Christopher was passing through that crisis of healthy disgust. His instinct was impelling him to eliminate from his life all the undigested elements which encumbered it.
>
> First of all to go was that sickening sweet tenderness which sucked away the soul of Germany like a damp and mouldy river-bed. Light! Light! A rough, dry wind which should sweep away the miasmas of the swamp, the musty staleness of the *Lieder*, *Liedchen*, *Liedlein*, as numerous as drops of rain in which inexhaustibly the Germanic *Gemüt* is poured forth: the countless things like *Sehnsucht* (Desire), *Heimweh* (Home-sickness), *Aufschwung* (Soaring), *Frage* (A question), *Warum?* (Why?), *An den Mond* (To the Moon), *An die Sterne* (To the Stars), *An die Nachtigall* (To the Nightingale), *An den Frühling* (To Spring), *An den Sonnenschein* (To Sunshine); like *Frühlingslied* (Spring Song), *Frühlingslust* (Delight of Spring), *Frühlingsgruss* (Hail to the Spring), *Frühlingsfahrt* (A Spring Journey), *Frühlingsnacht* (A Spring Night), *Frühlingsbotschaft* (The Message of Spring): like *Stimme der Liebe* (The Voice of Love), *Sprache der Liebe* (The Language of Love), *Trauer der Liebe* (Sorrow of Love), *Geist der Liebe* (The Spirit of Love), *Fülle der Liebe* (The Fullness of Love): like *Blumenlied* (The Song of the Flowers), *Blumenbrief* (The Letter of the Flowers), *Blumengruss* (Flowers' Greeting): like *Herzleid* (Heart Pangs), *Mein Herz ist schwer* (My Heart is Heavy), *Mein Herz ist betrübt* (My Heart is troubled), *Mein Aug' ist trüb* (My Eye is Heavy): like the candid and silly dialogues with the Röslein (the Little Rose), with the

brook, with the turtle dove, with the lark: like those idiotic questions: '*If the briar could have no thorns?*'—'*Is an old husband like a lark who has built a nest?*'—'*Is she newly plighted?*': the whole deluge of stale tenderness, stale emotion, stale melancholy, stale poetry. . . . How many lovely things profaned, rare things, used in season or out! For the worst of it was that it was all useless: a habit of undressing their hearts in public, a fond and foolish propensity of the honest people of Germany for plunging loudly into confidences. With nothing to say they were always talking! Would their chatter never cease?—as well bid frogs in a pond be silent. (*John Christopher* by Romain Rolland, Gilbert Cannan's translation).

And yet, when all is said, neither John Christopher nor we would care to be without the many very great things of the nineteenth-century German Lieder school, which constitute one of the most distinctive products of the Romantic period in music.

XVII

OPERA—DOWN TO AND DURING THE ROMANTIC PERIOD

No form of musical art more obviously offers opportunities to the Romantic composer than Opera. Weber took full advantage of these opportunities, and so did Wagner. Curiously, the Romantic Trio, as we may call them, the 1809–10 group, Mendelssohn, Chopin and Schumann, did not profit by the opportunities. Mendelssohn could not find libretti to suit him, Schumann's attempts failed through lack of sense of the stage, Chopin was a piano specialist. The great names of Romantic Opera are those of what we may call the three 'V's', Weber, Wagner, and Verdi. Before we follow their paths it is necessary to take a leap backwards, since in the First Volume of *The Listener's History*, in order to avoid too scattered and piecemeal a treatment of the subject, discussion of all but the early beginnings of Opera was deferred.

In that volume was given (see Chapter VI) a sketch of the first origins of Opera, in the last days of the sixteenth century and the early days of the seventeenth—the days of the Italian dramatic experimenters, Peri, Caccini, Monteverde. Then (in Chapter VIII) occurred a brief allusion to the growth of formalism and artificiality in what had been originally intended to be a very direct and natural means of dramatic expression, Handel's Operas, with their stereotyped Arias, being, for our text-book purposes, accepted as the type of eighteenth-century operatic formality. The passages in question should be, at this point, re-read.

Opera in the time of Handel

It is now necessary to extend somewhat the treatment of opera in Handelian times, and then to move rapidly forward to the time of Weber and that of Wagner.

Opera, which had been born in freedom, had, then, by the beginning of the eighteenth century, been straitly bound by custom and rule. Italy, which had introduced the form, remained its chief purveyor, and the Italian influence was potent outside Italy.

An Opera libretto was supposed to treat some incident or group of incidents from the life of some hero or heroine of antiquity—of ancient history or ancient mythology. That, of course, was a relic of the origin of the form. As will be recalled, the declared intention of the Florentine innovators had been to revive the glories of Greek drama; the invention of opera had, indeed, been a late application to music of the Renascence, or Revival of Humane Letters, which had begun to affect the other arts long before—indeed, to put it no earlier, from the fall of Constantinople and the consequent dispersion of Greek scholars and manuscripts in 1453.[1]

So we find Handel, for one, neglecting all the poetical subjects that lay about him in his three countries, his eighteenth-century Germany, Italy and England, neglecting the legends of his own race, and writing (in Italian—almost always in Italian) *Rodrigo* and *Agrippina* and *Rinaldo* and *Scipione* and *Alcina* and *Serse* and *Deidamia*.

Singers and their Arias

And we find him conforming to a pretty rigidly set scheme, something like this—six solo singers (or occasionally seven),

[1] The development of our modern music has been slower than that of any other art. At the time of the Revival of Letters its medieval development was not complete. The contrapuntal style, which has so obvious a similarity of style to medieval architecture, then in decline, needed another century and a half to attain its consummation. We see the effect of the Revival of Learning in the *words* of many of the madrigals, and doubtless music gained by the patronage of the rich and noble families who, inspired by the Revival, cultivated literature and the other arts. But only as the sixteenth century ended did what we may reasonably call the 'Renascence in Music' begin.

three being women and three being men; three Acts; in each act an Aria for each of the six characters, but no two Arias for the same character successively and no two Arias of the same style successively; few concerted numbers, since the vanity of the highly-trained and highly-paid singers made them prefer to shine alone.[1]

In explanation of the above limitation 'no two Arias of the same style successively' it must be added that Arias were very scientifically classified as—

1. The *Aria cantabile*, slow and pathetic, with opportunities for the singer to embellish his or her part by the addition of decorative passages.
2. The *Aria di portamento*, dignified, with few opportunities for embellishment.
3. The *Aria di mezzo carattere*, more passionate, and with an orchestral accompaniment which might become elaborate.
4. The *Aria parlante*, declamatory, and with orchestral accompaniment.
5. The *Aria di bravura*, or *Aria d'agilità*, with showy scales, arpeggios, 'divisions', &c.

And there were others! John Brown, a Scottish painter who wrote on Italian Opera in 1789, gives this partial classification (Rockstro quotes it in his *Life of Handel*). There is no need for any reader to commit that list to memory; the aim in setting it forth is merely to make clear in what bonds of formality and strict limitation dramatic expression was now fettered.

Add that of the three men's voices two (including that of the hero of the piece) were always an artificial and unmanly

[1] E. W. thinks I have rather overdone 'the Brown-Rockstro business' that follows, and would like me to guard myself from too literal an adherence to its statements by emphasizing my words 'something like this' above. He suggests a reference to Robinson's *Handel and his Orbit*, pp. 24–5.

Soprano and Contralto, that the third, when not also artificial, was a Tenor, and that the presence of a Bass was comparatively rare, and it will be realized that the librettist and composer who could contrive an opera that kept the rules and yet possessed dramatic force were very skilful craftsmen. Indeed, for the most part, the original Florentine *dramma per musica* had now degenerated into a sort of vocal costume concert, in which now one performer, now another, took his or her turn at approaching the footlights. In the boxes of an Italian Opera House people played cards, made love, carried on conversation, ate supper—merely breaking off from time to time as there arrived some musical item that took their fancy, or some singer of special fame.

It is necessary to explain the form of eighteenth-century Opera just a little further. Its dialogue was carried forward by Recitative, of which there were two kinds, *Recitativo secco* or 'dry recitative', in which the singer pushed on rapidly, merely accompanied (much in the original Florentine fashion) by a few chords on a harpsichord, and *Recitativo stromentato*, or 'instrumented recitative', in which the orchestra was used, often fairly elaborately. The first kind of Recitative, we may say, was used for rapid 'business', the second for more emotionally eloquent passages.

The *Aria* represented the soliloquy of the characters. As so much soliloquy is rare in real life, and when it occurs on the stage puts every one except the soliloquist himself in the position of having nothing to do for the moment, the extensive use of the Aria was another offence against dramatic truth—especially as the Aria form itself had become stereotyped into a stiff formula of *First Section—Second Section—First Section repeated.*

Convention in Opera

It must not be inferred from anything just said that objection is taken to the fact that Opera was treated as a convention.

As soon as you go upon the stage you are necessarily enmeshed in conventions. The three-sided box in which you act is a convention; to sing, instead of speak, is a convention, and so forth. Every art has its conventions. But conventions can become excessive, and they can become meaningless, and this was the state into which operatic conventions had now fallen.

There were other styles of Opera besides the Italian. There was French Opera, founded by Lully upon the basis of the French mythological Ballet. There was English Opera, founded by Purcell and some contemporaries upon the basis of the English mythological Masque. There was the German *Singspiel* (or musical play). All of these were conventional, but Italian Opera, which was soon dominant throughout Europe, was the most conventional of all.[1] The principal librettist to all Europe was the Italian, Metastasio, whose lifetime took in the first eighty years of the eighteenth century, and was most of it spent in Vienna. His libretti were almost as well known to opera-goers as the words of the Mass to church-goers, some of them being set by as many as thirty or forty different composers. Handel, Gluck, Haydn, Mozart, and, indeed, most or all opera-composers of the eighteenth century were at one time or another customers of the famous Metastasio.

[1] In England, of course, there was the notable revolt against the Italianate operas with which Handel was swaying London. The *Beggar's Opera* (which was followed by countless similar 'Ballad Operas') had an immediate and immense popular success, which lasted a century, and which has been so conspicuously revived to-day. These are, of course, thoroughly conventional, consisting of spoken plays with set songs interspersed. But this was an unpretentious, spontaneous convention. What a reversion this was to a fundamental naturalness is fully seen in the fact that the popular song replaces the *Aria cantabile* and the like. The English Opera of Purcell and his contemporaries was also carried on by Arne and a few others.

The Reformer Gluck

The first real attempt at reform in Opera came from Gluck (in round figures we may say that Gluck's lifetime, like Handel's, was one of seventy years, but that it began and ended thirty years later—1714 to 1787, as against 1685 to 1759).

From our modern point of view composers wrote too many Operas in those days, just as a little later they wrote too many Symphonies. Musical composition was, so to speak, journalism rather than literature. Audiences wanted something new. Handel wrote about forty Operas and about twenty Oratorios, Gluck over fifty Operas, Haydn one hundred and twenty-five Symphonies and seventy-seven String Quartets—and so on. Gluck had already produced over thirty of his Operas before there appeared his *Orpheus* (1762), which is not only the earliest written of his Operas that now keeps the stage but also the earliest Opera of any composer whatever that does so.[1]

Then, five years later, came *Alcestis*, in the famous preface to which were laid down the principles of reform, something as follows:

(*a*) The music to be secondary to the poetry and drama, not to weaken them by unnecessary ornaments—to be, in fact, something like the addition of colour to drawing, giving more life to the figures without changing their shapes.

(*b*) Halts in the poetry and action for the sake of any kind of display to be particularly avoided, whether such

[1] Purcell's *Dido and Æneas*, composed at least seventy years earlier, is still sometimes performed, but usually more or less privately, not on the ordinary 'commercial' opera stage. Lately (1928) it has been revived in Germany. E.W. calls attention to recent English revivals of Monteverde and of Purcell's *Fairy Queen* and to German revivals of Handel operas (referred to in Vol. I). These also are uncommercial ventures in every case, I think.

halts be for the sake of vocal display or for that of the added interest of interpolated instrumental passages ('ritornelli').

(*c*) The Overture to be of such a character as to prepare the audience for the drama to follow.

(*d*) The orchestration to vary according to the degree of interest and passion in the words.

(*e*) Too great a disparity between Recitatives and Arias to be shunned.

In fact, as Gluck himself put it, he had in *Alcestis* tried to show that it was possible to abolish the abuses that good sense had often pointed out and only custom defended, and his general aim he described as 'a noble simplicity'. He had not a perfect command over the technique of composition, and he was often careless about details (so that his scores have frequently been worked over by later composers, such as Berlioz and Wagner, in order to fit them for performance). But he often wrote lovely music—and not at the expense of the drama.

He very much diminished the use of the *da capo* in the Aria (i.e. the repetition of the first part, which repetition has, in most cases, merely the object of musical symmetry and serves no dramatic purpose). He attempted a more natural declamation in the Recitatives. He individualized the *dramatis personae* more than had been common, by giving them music distinctive of their individual characters.

Gluck's orchestration does not sound modern to us, as that of Mozart does, but it was much ahead of that of Handel and his contemporaries; Gluck abandoned the use of the Harpsichord with its 'figured-bass' background to the music (see Vol. I, Ch. 6 and Ch. 10), but he relied too much on the Strings. He did not use the Wood Wind in the modern free way, yet he attempted a thoughtful use of 'colour'. He was one of the first to introduce the string mutes pretty freely into the orchestra. He gave more importance to the Trombones

than any one had previously done, using a group of three. He used also the Clarinet and the Harp.

Gluck made use of the chorus, but brought its members right into the midst of the action. On the whole, as will be seen, the principles dictating Gluck's efforts might have been expressed in the cry, 'Back to 1600!' With the fuller resources of the later eighteenth century he wished to carry out the original aims of the innovators of the early seventeenth.

Mozart as an Opera Composer

Mozart was forty years Gluck's junior. His whole lifetime covered barely the latter half of Gluck's, and the two died within five years of one another. Mozart was about six years old at the time of the production of *Orpheus*, and nearly twelve at the time of that of *Alcestis*. The famous preface to *Alcestis* must have been well discussed in the musical circle of which his father was the centre.

The Operas of Mozart sound to us much more 'modern' than those of Gluck. As already hinted, Mozart's superiority of orchestration has something to do with that, but this is only part of an all-round superiority of technique. And this command over technique enabled the composer to combine musical interest and dramatic truth to a wonderful degree. The musical characterization of the *dramatis personae* is often masterly, yet the melodic charm is so evident that it appears to be the aim, and the listener is probably only subconsciously aware of the truth of the characterization. The building up of the finales of the acts goes far beyond anything previously achieved, strings of pieces, solos and concerted items, following one another and piling up to a notable musical climax.

Mozart was no theorist. He issued no manifestos and followed no one plan. In *The Marriage of Figaro* only half the items are solo Arias, and the Recitatives are mostly 'Recitativo secco', i. e. they rapidly carry on the dialogue at the very speed of speech, and with mere chords from the key-

board instrument as their support. In *The Escape from the Seraglio* and *The Magic Flute* there is actual spoken dialogue. Gluck had been willing, when introducing his work in Paris, to abandon Italian on occasion for French, and Mozart was willing to adopt his native German. *Figaro* and *Don Juan* have Italian libretti; *The Seraglio* and *The Magic Flute* have German libretti. (The fact that the latter two works have spoken dialogue has just been mentioned; they may be taken as having nationalist aims, and as constituting a glorification of the German 'Singspiel' or musical play with spoken dialogue.)

The classical nature of the operatic libretti of Handel's time has been alluded to; Gluck continued the tradition. So sometimes did Mozart (*Idomeneus*, *Ascanius in Alba*, *The Clemency of Titus*, &c.). But Mozart came nearer to the sentiments of our own day by the acceptance of non-classical subjects, such as the legend of Don Juan, the Figaro story from Beaumarchais, and the fantasy of freemasonry of *The Magic Flute*. Surely humour is one of Mozart's highest powers. *Figaro* is full of it, so is *The Seraglio*; *The Magic Flute* has a good deal of intentional humorous relief to its frequent solemnity, as well as some unconscious humour; *Don Juan* if presented, as it sometimes is, without the intended disinfectant of humour, becomes intolerable to a civilized listener.

Weber and Romantic Opera

We are now in a position to realize what was the task Weber undertook, impelled by the growing Romantic spirit of the literary thought of the opening nineteenth century. 'The germ of Weber's romanticism', it has been suggested, 'is to be found in Mozart's *Magic Flute*,' and this statement takes on more force if one recalls the magic and fairy element that comes into so many of the libretti Weber loved to set—*Rübezahl*, with its mountain spirit in love with a mortal princess, *Abu Hassan*, an Arabian fairy tale, *The Marksman* ('Der Freischütz'), based on German legend, with its casting

of magic bullets in the Wolf's Glen, *Oberon*, with its fairy tale, and others.[1]

It was not merely in the choice of subjects but also in the distinctive *flavour* of the treatment of them that Weber showed himself the first great Romantic. Moreover, the classical implications of a foreign tongue, the Italian that had become conventional for Opera, were entirely forgone. Weber was both the first great Romantic Opera-Composer and the first great Nationalist Opera-Composer. He set to music his native German, set it (with one exception, *Euryanthe*) in the native 'Singspiel' style, and, in one notable case, at any rate, (*The Marksman*) based his whole plot on a native legend.

There is a passage by the late W. S. Rockstro (in his extended article 'Opera' in *Grove's Dictionary*) that may be welcomed here, as defining in some degree the nature of genuine Romanticism in Opera.

> It is by no means indispensable that the libretto of the romantic opera should deal with the supernatural. Though it certainly finds a congenial habitat in the realm of ghosts, demons, fairies, gnomes, witches, mermaids, and sprites of

[1] *Oberon* is a real 'romantic' opera. 'Romance' in its original sense means a literary work in a Romance language. The old 'romans' were full of amour and adventure, and so, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, tales or poems with the same characteristics came to be called 'romantic'.

Now the fairy king, Oberon, first made his appearance in the world in the tenth century in a genuine 'roman', the famous Chanson de Geste, *Huon of Bordeaux*. Shakespeare used hints from the Oberon story in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and the German poet-dramatist-philosopher, Wieland, retold the whole tale in 1780. Wieland's treatment was much admired. Goethe said, on its appearance, 'As long as poetry is poetry, gold gold, and crystal crystal, Wieland's *Oberon* will be beloved and admired as a masterpiece of poetic art.'

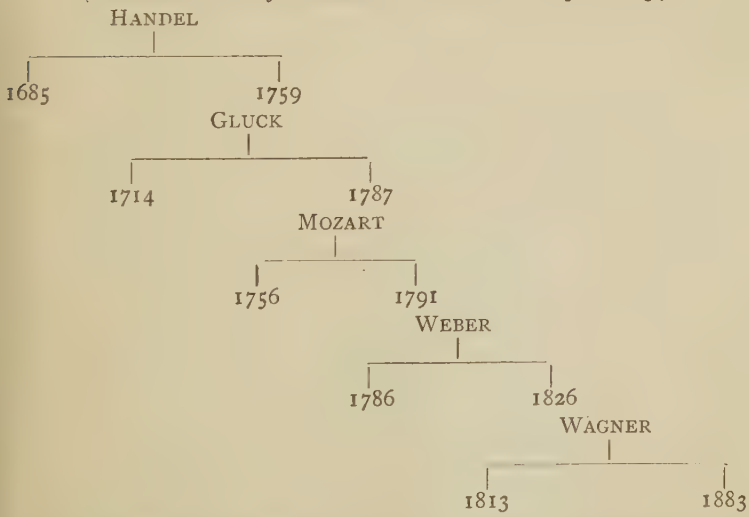
Weber's opera, written for London, had an English libretto by Planché, which was closely based on Wieland's work, which, in its turn, as already stated, was based upon an actual 'romance' of the original 'romantic' period.

So here is one example, at any rate, of a story from the first 'Romantic Period' being set to music in the second 'Romantic Period'.

all sorts and conditions, it is equally at home among the splendours of chivalric pageantry, in the solitude of the Black Forest, or under the arches of a cloister. Its *dramatis personae* may be queens and princes, a troop of spectres, or a company of peasants with hearts as innocent as their dresses are homely. Only, whoever they are, they must speak in their real character, natural or imaginary. The scene cannot very well be laid in the streets of a modern city, nor must the incidents be such as one would be likely to encounter in ordinary domestic life; but the domestic affections, and all other passions which form the common inheritance of every age and country alike, may, and necessarily must, be represented in their fullest integrity. The only condition laid upon the composer is that when he is called upon to deal with natural things he must be truly and unaffectedly natural. When he soars into the regions of fancy, he must trust entirely to the power of his imagination; and in proportion to the extent of that power will be the measure of his success.

FIVE GREAT OPERA COMPOSERS

(Their lives cover just about two centuries—1685 to 1883.)



Note that the life of Beethoven (1770–1827) forms a considerable bond. His lifetime overlaps that of Gluck by seventeen years and that of Wagner by fourteen years.

The Work of Wagner

And so, at last, we come to Wagner—the German National Romantic Opera Composer *par excellence*. The language of his libretti is German and his subjects are German legends (or, at any rate, legends of the Northern Peoples). His *Flying Dutchman*, *Lohengrin*, *Tannhäuser*, *The Ring of the Nibelung*, *Tristan and Isolda* and *Parsifal* are all of this character, and the subject of *The Mastersingers of Nuremberg*, comes, pretty authentically, from German life of the sixteenth century.

In his dramatic aims, Wagner is a nineteenth-century Gluck. He aimed at drama first and music afterwards. He wrote his own libretti, and no longer considered them as mere libretti, i. e. to him the dramatic poems were no longer so much 'composer fodder', but the half or three-quarters of a work of art, which could, as he thought, once he had completed his synthesis of the dramatic and musical elements, hardly be analysed out again. As literature his poems have never won high recognition, yet literary men have welcomed the bringing into Opera of a higher poetical standard.[1]

As the art of Wagner developed it left farther and farther behind it the set divisions into Recitative, Aria, and the like, and made an Act one continuous whole from beginning to end. Where Mozart and Weber had admitted spoken dialogue (in the old German 'Singspiel' fashion) he dropped even formal Recitative, his voice parts being of a character varying with the needs of the moment; if those voice parts somewhat distantly approached the older Recitative style when dialogue was to be carried through, and the older Aria style when

[1] See, for instance, Professor Saintsbury, in the *Periods of European Literature*, vol. xii, p. 232, 'The re-knitting of the connection of Apollo's two arts—poetry and music—so long severed from each other by nothing so much as by the frivolity and mindlessness of the older opera itself, is a phenomenon in the history of literature far too important to escape notice here.'

lyrical sentiments were to be expressed, they yet fell completely into neither style.

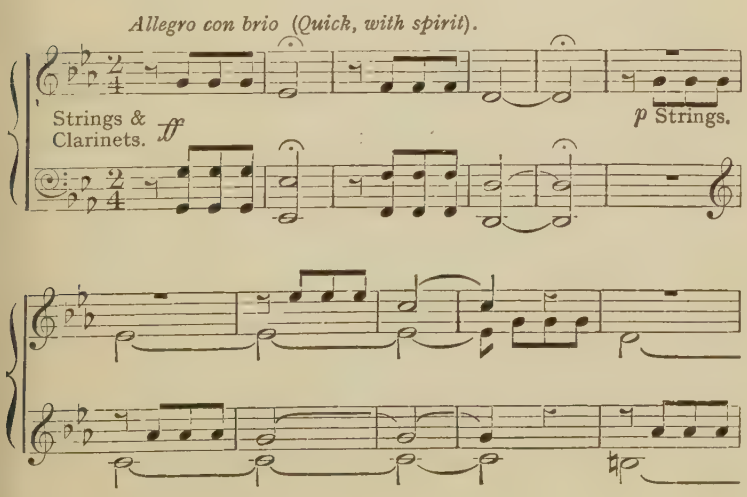
The Wagnerian 'Leading-Motive'

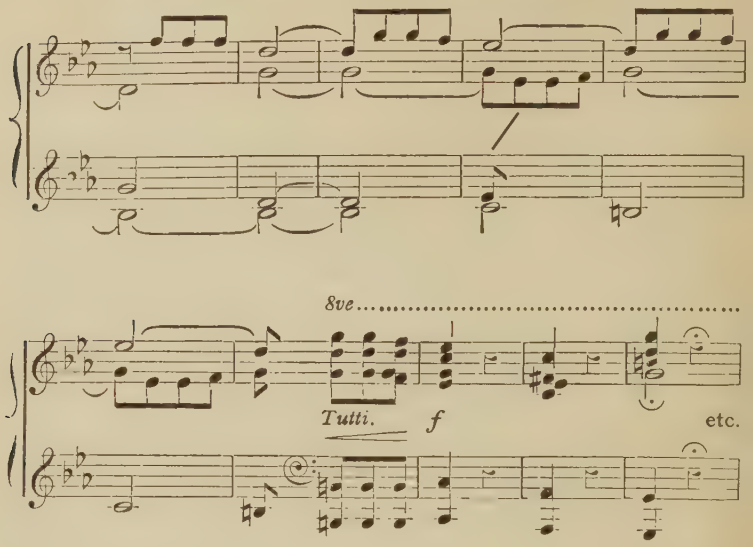
That Wagner was able to avoid both set divisions and set styles was largely due to his use of the Leading-Motive ('Leitmotiv'), of which, though he cannot be called the inventor, he was certainly the first consistent user.

From the earliest beginnings of instrumental music, by far the most important way of making a long piece has been by the reiteration, with various modifications in melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic treatment, of some tiny germ-theme. Indeed, this was so to a large extent in choral music also, as a glance back at the examples from Palestrina, in Vol. I, Chapter iii, will remind the reader.

With the great Sonata-Symphony-String Quartet composers, Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven, the device had taken the definite shape which we call 'development'.

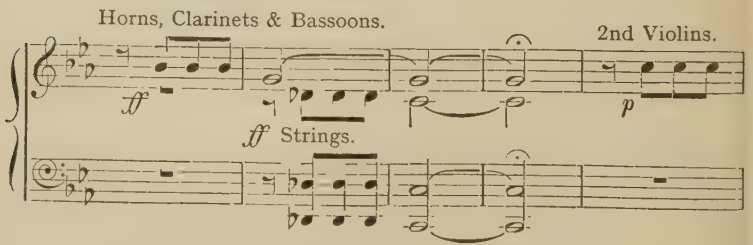
Look at an example from Beethoven. Here are the opening bars of his famous Fifth Symphony:





Out of that motive of four notes:

a very large part of the First Movement, indeed a good deal of the whole work is made. Here is the beginning of the Development Section[1] of the First Movement, showing the music's natural, organic growth:



[1] See Vol. I, pp. 116–17.

The use of the Leading-Motive is essential to the Wagner scheme. Without so ductile a material he could never have woven his seamless web, nor could he have closely shaped his music to the ever-changing emotional scheme implied by the

words of the drama, nor could he have so definitely characterized in his music the personages of the drama, nor have brought to the mind of the listener previous happenings and so have hinted at their bearing upon the events of the present moment. But a less skilful craftsman than Wagner could not have successfully handled the device, and many of the craftsmen who have since tried to do so have tried only to fail.

Note that even Wagner could not have done so much with the device had he lived at a somewhat earlier period, before the time was ripe for his marvellous development of chromatic harmony. The Leading-Motive device, under consistently diatonic extended treatment, would be found stiff and unmanageable; it is only pliability and variety, the harmonic facility of a Wagner, that makes so much repetition of tiny themes possible without boredom. Even this understates the case; rhythmic and contrapuntal freedom are necessary also. Indeed, with Wagner as with Bach, counterpoint and harmony are, we may almost say, merely different aspects of the same thing,[1] and as Bach was the greatest contrapuntist since Palestrina and Byrd, so was Wagner the greatest since Bach.

Let us take a passage illustrative of Wagner's 'Leading-Motive' method of construction—a passage which, moreover, compared with the Beethoven passage just quoted, shows clearly how Wagner's method of development was but the natural growth of Beethoven's.

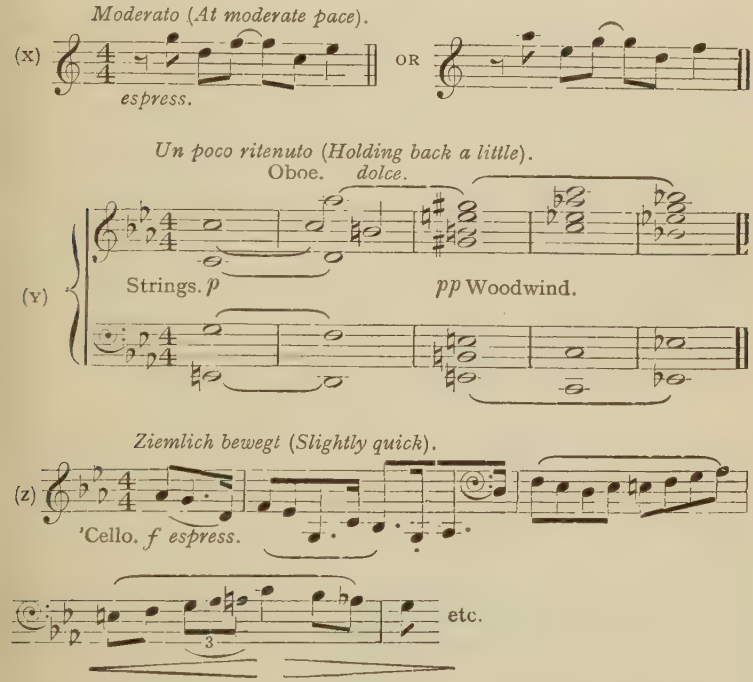
In Wagner's Drama of the sixteenth-century Mastersingers, Walther is a young nobleman who has fallen in love with Eva, daughter of one of the Masters. To win her, he must be the victor at a Contest of Song. But as poet-composer he is more inspired than instructed, and so he has to be befriended

[1] This is still truer of Palestrina and the composers of his time, who lived before the two aspects had been clearly differentiated in the minds of either composers or theorists.

and helped by the philosophic cobbler Hans Sachs, himself a Mastersinger.

Now, on the morning of the Contest, Walther comes to Sachs and tells him of a wonderful dream he has had, which Sachs tells him to mould into his Master-Song.

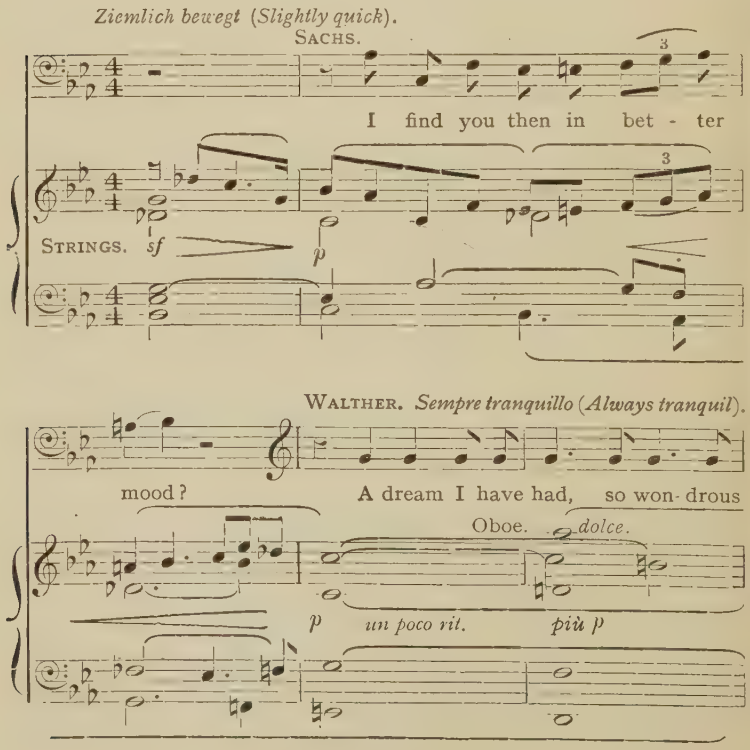
There are three 'Leading-Motives' used in this passage. According to generally accepted labels they are (*x*) the theme of Walther's *Growing Love* for Eva, (*y*) the theme of Walther's *Dream*, and (*z*) that of Sachs's *Friendly Goodwill* for Walther.

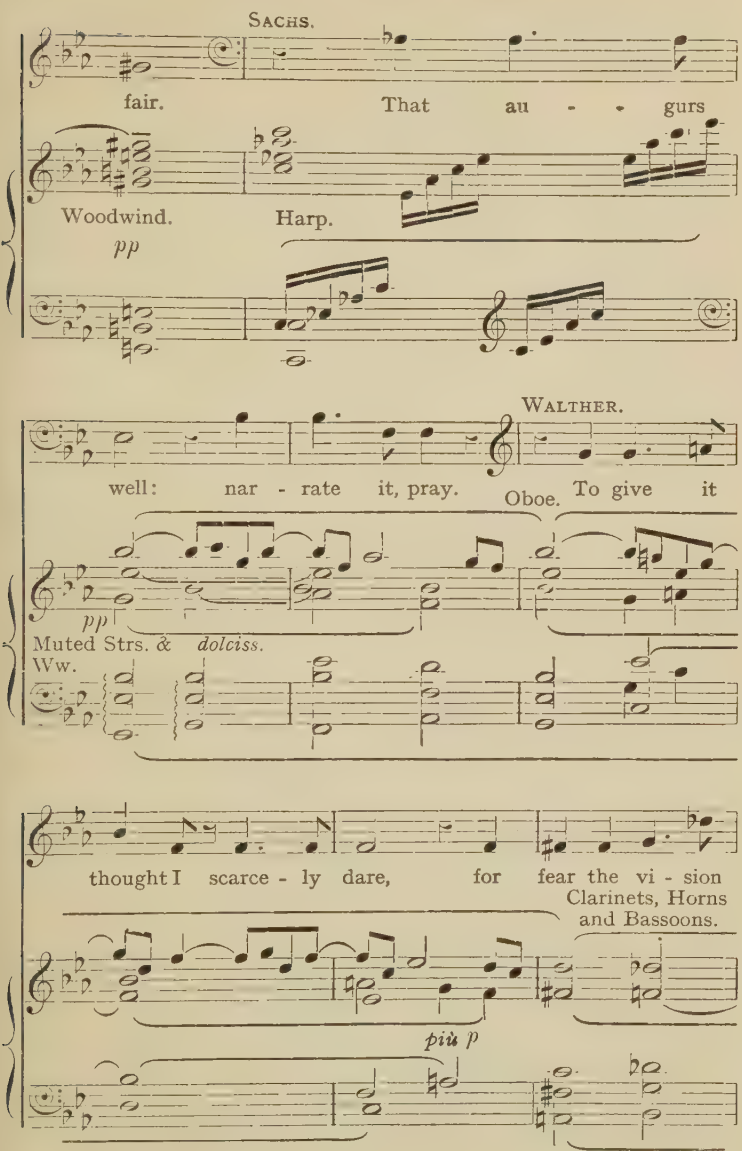


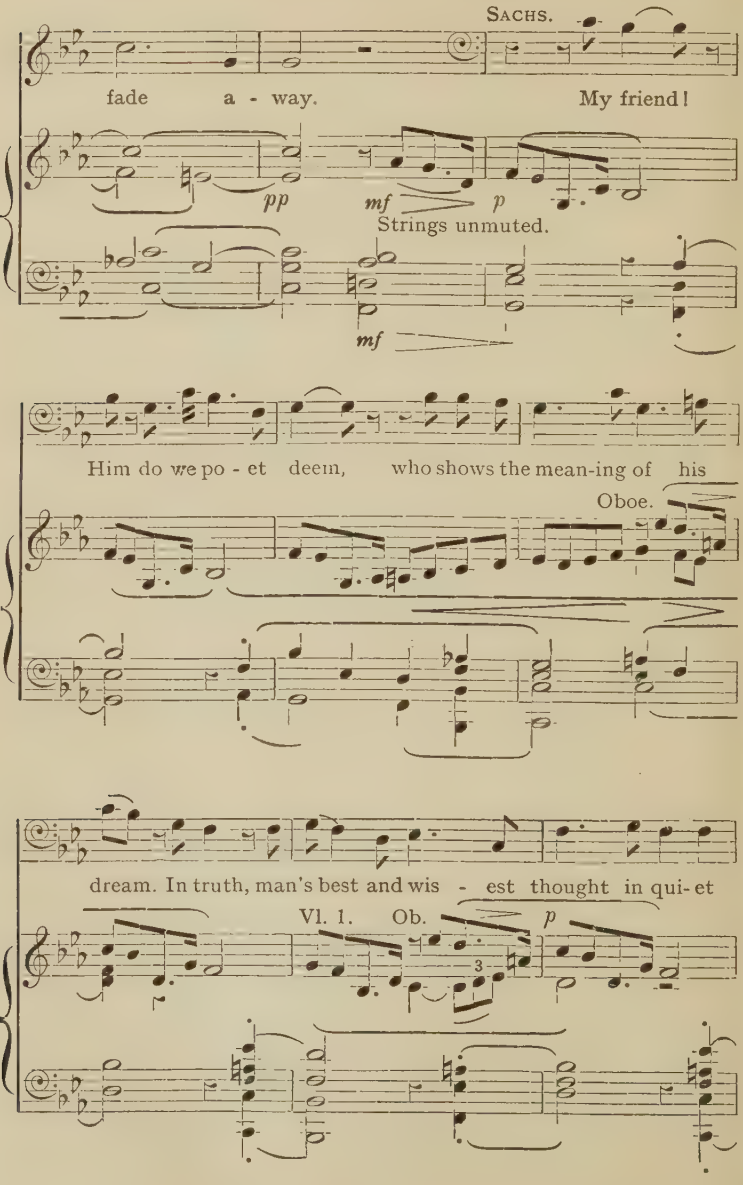
Now for the passage itself. First we have (*z*), then (*y*), then (*x*). Notice that (*x*) steals in *before* Walther begins to *tell* his dream, going with his *thoughts*; (*x*) is very briefly developed, then (*y*), but in a changed, *fading* form, with the

words, 'For fear the vision fade away', then (*z*) returns as Sachs discourses, and is fully developed—more fully, indeed, than can be shown here. How closely the music is fitted to the thought is shown by the hint of (*y*) again in the very last bars of this extract. This is really brought out by the orchestration, which has been indicated above, as also in the passage itself. The voice parts here are typical—a kind of tuneful recitative, generally coming near to the melody of the moment.

(The words are those of Ernest Newman's Translation, given in Breitkopf and Härtel's Vocal Score.)




Sachs.
fair.
That au - - gurs
Woodwind.
Harp.
pp
Walther.
well: nar - rate it, pray.
Oboe.
To give it
pp
Muted Strs. & Ww.
dolciss.
thought I scarce - ly dare,
for fear the vi - sion
Clarinets, Horns and Bassoons.
più p


Sachs.
fade a - way.
My friend!
pp
mf
p
Strings unmuted.
mf
Him do we po - et deem, who shows the mean-ing of his
Oboe.
dream. In truth, man's best and wis - est thought in qui-et
Vl. 1. Ob.
p
3

dream oft comes un - sought. All
Vl. 1.
Ob.
Horns.
po - ems that the soul re - joice..... Are nought
dolce poco cres.
Vl. 1.
p
but dreams..... that find a voice.
Vl. 2.
Vl. 1.
Horns & Bassoons.
p
f
Strings.
etc.
p

The Wagnerian Orchestration

Similarly, Wagner was subtle as a colourist, as, indeed, is fairly shown in the above passage. The sense of orchestral colours was very strong in him, and what he heard in imagination he was determined to realize, though it might imply a great increase upon the normal orchestral resources of the period.

It was customary to employ two of each Wood Wind instrument; he often demanded three (sometimes more), so that he could obtain full harmony in any tone colour. Instead of two Horns he demanded four—when he didn't demand eight. Instead of two Trumpets he demanded three, plus a Bass Trumpet; to the three Trombones he added a Contra-Bass Trombone. The modern use of the Tuba is chiefly due to him; he sometimes used four, plus a Contra-Bass Tuba. The frequent effect of 'fullness' in Wagner's softer orchestration is often largely due to a hardly noticed background of brass chords. For certain special passages he used six Harps. He used percussion freely.

This was all very well, and a world without Wagnerian orchestration is nowadays unimaginable, but—since the war of 1914 so much increased the world's wage bill it has made orchestral concerts almost impossibly costly.

Music and Drama—a Combination of all the Arts

Some incompleteness must be admitted in the definition of Wagner's aim merely as that of a merging of dramatic poetry and music. He intended a merging of *all* the arts—poetry, music, dressing and scenery, and acting. He not only wrote his own dramatic poems and set them to music, but devised his own costumes and scenery and laid down the details of the action.

He attempted too much. His ideas of stagecraft were often childish—rich-childish, that is, not poor-childish, for while the poor child will play with a tin can and in imagination transfigure it into an object of great worth, the rich child must have realistically imitative toys. Wagner did, indeed,

call for stage realism ; he trusted naught to the imagination of the opera-goer. Live horses and sham-live dragons, swans on the river and swans in the air, duels of giants and duels of dwarfs, everything must be shown to the corporeal eye—even to the Holy Spirit descending from Heaven !

Where Wagner's passion for the visual was useful was in pageantry. Of any opportunity such as the gathering of knights for vocal tournament in the Hall of Song, or for spiritual refreshment at the Lovefeast in the Castle of the Grail, he could avail himself with great success. A Dance of Apprentices or a Procession of the Guilds he could carry out splendidly, combining pageant music and a pageant setting in the most effective way, but when it came to Rhine Maidens swimming or Valkyrie Maidens flying he attempted just the same kind of realism, and in the representation of phenomena of this nature even a genius of a stage manager with unlimited funds is bound to fall short of his intentions.

Speed and Length in Wagner

Another fault is long-windedness. He failed to allow for the inevitable slowing-up of drama when set to any kind of music, except the old-fashioned *Recitativo secco* that was far below his consideration. One of his Music-Dramas that takes, say, an hour and a half to read aloud (and so, presumably, would take little longer if acted as a spoken play) may take four or five hours when set to music. The wise composer allows for the brake-power of a musical setting and cuts down his libretto accordingly. To illustrate the principle—Shakespeare's *Othello* contains roughly 28,000 words ; Boito's libretto for Verdi's *Othello* contains about 5,700. In other words, Boito has had to discard four-fifths of Shakespeare in order to enable Verdi to get his musical setting into an evening (the four acts of Verdi's *Othello* take about two hours and twenty minutes, plus intervals).[1]

[1] Miss Lilian Baylis, of the 'Old Vic' Theatre, where Shakespeare's

Wagner also lengthens his Music-Dramas quite unduly by overlong soliloquies and explanatory speeches. It takes a very pious Wagnerian to listen patiently to Wotan on each occasion of his appearance. Schumann once heard Gluck's *Iphigenia in Aulis* conducted by Wagner. He says, 'I think I heard some of his additions to the music here and there. The close "On to Troy" was also added. This is inadmissible. Gluck would probably make use of a contrary process with Wagner's Operas—he would cut out!' And at that time (1847) Wagner's Wotan was not yet born!

An almost total lack of humour seems to be one of Wagner's faults until, suddenly, when we reach *The Mastersingers* we find him overflowing with it.

Wagner's Success and his Failure

Take him for all in all, Wagner is the greatest man ever born into the Opera world, great in his achievements and great in his failures—and how badly he failed in his main effort is realized when we find that so far from his music and drama merging into one art inseparably, enormous slices of the music are constantly taken for concert pieces and are found to be satisfying as such. Yet nobody ever takes the dramas and performs them without the music, whereby the truth is revealed: Wagner was not, as he thought, a great dramatist, but he was (as he also thought) a very great composer.

Italian and French Opera

A few words must now be said as to earlier nineteenth-century Opera elsewhere than in Germany. We shall expect to find a difference. What the difference is likely to be is hinted at by Weber in his pronouncement *To the Music Lovers of Dresden*, issued on his first taking up his duties as Conductor of the German Opera at the Court of Saxony (see page 82). 'With

Othello is sometimes played without 'cuts', tells me it takes 3 hours, 22 mins. *net*—only one hour longer than Verdi's, which has one-fifth the word-length. (The Verdi time is supplied to me by Mr. Percy Pitt.)

other nations the pleasure of the senses is what is aimed at. Germans, on the other hand, want a complete work of art, perfect in its parts and fashioned into a perfect whole—with them a fine *ensemble* is the first necessity.'

Whilst, then, in Germany the successive efforts of Gluck, Mozart, Weber, and Wagner had tended to bring the Opera on to a level comparable with that of other forms of art, in Italy, 'the pleasure of the senses' had continued to be the aim.

DONIZETTI (1797–1848) wrote nearly seventy operas and operettas, all full of easily-flowing tunes, and of hazardous gymnastics for the singers, vocal display rather than dramatic truth being the aim.

In a brief generalization like the present, BELLINI (1801–35) may be classed with Donizetti. Chopin greatly admired the expressive *cantilena* of Bellini's vocal melody, and his own pianoforte melody was influenced by it.[1]

ROSSINI (1792–1868) also may, for the purpose of so general a classification as the present, be placed almost in the same category, though his sparkling comic-opera masterpiece, *The Barber of Seville* represents a lasting success of a type such as we cannot credit to the other two just mentioned.

All those people, whatever their merits, were essentially musicians first and dramatists a long way after.

MEYERBEER (1791–1864), a personal friend of Weber, had to meet his censure because, in his earlier period, he abandoned the sacred cause of German art and became an imitator of the Italians. Later he made Paris and Berlin his centres of activity, and brought out the series of heavily spectacular and musically glittering works that we to-day associate with his name: (*Robert the Devil*, *The Huguenots*, *The Star of the North*, &c.). Auber and Hérold also catered for the Paris public.

[1] It must be obvious to everybody that the elaborate arabesques with which Chopin decorated his melodies had their origin in Italian vocalism, whether the style came to him direct or through John Field, the Irishman (1782–1837), the 'inventor' of the Nocturne.

BERLIOZ (1803–69) was a composer of very different aims. He genuinely represents the French romantic movement, just as much so, in fact, as Victor Hugo or Delacroix (see page 115). He was as self-sufficient and as genuinely original as Wagner. His chiefest gifts were the histrionic and the orchestral, and he had a great love of size, often in his works calling for a huge force. His countrymen thought him mad, as perhaps he was. So was Beethoven—his great hero and Wagner's. (It is a very interesting thing to see the Beethoven boldness and the Beethoven love of 'big' ideas in music influencing these two composers, who, French and German as they respectively were, showed the effect of the influence in totally different styles and idioms.)

One very important composer of this period remains to be named. VERDI (1813–1901) had he not been so long-lived would not have so imperatively demanded treatment in this book. Of his twenty-odd operas, all were in the conventional Italian style until, in 1871, he produced the gorgeously dressed and vividly orchestrated Egyptian Opera, *Aïda*, a piece of equal spectacular and emotional appeal, written for performance at Cairo. *Othello* followed, showing, miraculously, the power of a seventy-four year old Composer to adopt a new style—for *Othello*, though it has all the Italian melodramatic force, is greatly influenced by Wagner in the attempt to put drama first, in some use of the Leading-Motive system, in a greater general continuity, and in a very much more subtle orchestration. Finally, when the composer was eighty, there appeared that incredibly adroit piece of musical humour, *Falstaff*, in which the use of the Wagnerian system is carried still farther.

Perhaps it will be well to include in this chapter the Frenchman GOUNOD, whose *Faust* (1859), though it does not satisfy the lovers of Goethe, has become one of the greatest favourites of the sentimental, tune-loving big public (it is decidedly 'dramatic' but rather, perhaps in the way of dramatic effective-

ness than of dramatic truth). And there must be a word, too, about another Frenchman, BIZET, whose Spanish Opera, *Carmen* (1875), is not loved by Spaniards, but, by its expressive tunefulness, charms everybody else.

PUCCINI (1858–1924) brings the tale down near our own day. He had a great flair for the popular appeal; he could achieve a style which, essentially, was the traditional Italian style, whilst twisting it just out of the tradition by a touch everywhere of the pseudo-original and 'modern'.

As for the Massenets and Charpentiers, the Leoncavallos and Mascagnis and other second and third-raters, however respectable their achievements, there is not room in a small book like this to do much more than register their existence. (A short biographical sketch of Massenet, with some opinions of Debussy upon his work, will be found on a later page.)

Already in fact this Chapter has departed somewhat from the general plan of the book, which is to sketch the development of the art only in broad outline. So far as Opera is concerned, the enumeration of the Florentine group, of Gluck, of Weber, of Wagner and of Verdi are almost sufficient to do that, but it is well to remember that Wagnerism proved to be, in a sense, the end of the road, and that the composers mentioned on the last pages, and some others to be mentioned later, have found it necessary to some extent to retrace the lines of march, in the attempt (often vain) to find main roads branching off in other directions. The reaction against Wagnerism is best represented by the recantation of Wagner's close friend, Nietzsche, who, after years of enthusiasm for everything that Wagner wrote, turned and proclaimed that he had suffered a change of heart and had found salvation in the simple gospel of Bizet's *Carmen*.[1]

[1] E.E. feels that my book gives insufficient attention to the Latin composers as compared with the German. See his note inserted later, after the biographical notice of Verdi.

LEADING ROMANTIC COMPOSERS

WEBER

WEBER'S life lasted less than forty years, but as it was one of intense activity it saw a great deal accomplished. He was born in 1786, and died in 1826. He was born near Lübeck, and died whilst on a visit to London.

Weber.

The Weber family, in its extended devotion to music, closely resembles certain families discussed in Volume I of this book. We can trace musicianship in seven generations of Bachs, five of Couperins, four of Purcells, three of Scarlattis, three of Beethovens, two of Mozarts, and four of Webers. The sisters Josepha Weber (for whom Mozart wrote the high-lying, florid Queen of the Night music in *The Magic Flute*), Aloysia Weber (his first love, for whom he wrote the part of Constanza in *The Escape from the Seraglio*), Constanza Weber (whom he married), and Sophie Weber (also a good singer) were cousins of the Weber now under consideration. It is to be noted that the passion for music was in the Weber family accompanied by an equal passion for drama, and the course of this passion can be traced back as far as the sixteenth century.

Weber's father, noble by descent, as the family 'von' indicates, was a handsome, jovial, reckless fellow, at one time a successful soldier, at another a business man (but a pretty poor one) in the employ of an Elector-Bishop, then the exploiter of the new process of lithography (the composer himself, as a boy, was expert at the process, introduced technical improvements, and later almost lost his life by the accident of drinking some of the acid used in the work). For long years this Jack-of-all-Trades was a wandering actor-musician—of the Crummles type, with a strong strain of the Micawber merged. His troupe ('Weber's Company of Comedians') was more or less favourably known over a large part of Germany.

He was an energetic seeker after popular artistic glory, and had an

overmastering desire to place before the world a musical child-genius of the type of his nephew by marriage Mozart. Two of his sons were placed under the instruction of Haydn, and another, the subject of this sketch, first under Haydn's brother Michael (Cathedral Organist at Salzburg), and later under the Abbé Vogler at Vienna (the much-travelled organist-composer-theorist, half genius and half charlatan, whom Browning has idealized in his *Abt Vogler*).

As Weber's life was destined to be so brief it is fortunate that productivity began early. At the age of eleven he published a Set of Six Fugues, and henceforward he was constantly publishing—unfortunately, by the business customs of the day, compelled to sell outright, and sometimes, from lack of any copyright law, seeing his compositions pirated and occasionally even grossly rearranged. No impresario could be found for his first Opera (imagine a boy of about twelve engaged upon *The Power of Love and Wine*!) but the second (composed at thirteen), 'A Grand Romantic Comic Opera, *The Dumb Girl of the Forest*', was duly mounted at Chemnitz, Freiburg, Vienna, Prague, and St. Petersburg, and the third, *Peter Schmoll and his Neighbours* (composed at fourteen or fifteen) really attracted considerable attention; the Overture of this last is still occasionally heard and is, perhaps, the earliest work of its Composer now known to audiences.

The study under Vogler involved residence in gay Vienna, and if the youth, now seventeen, did not busy himself upon a second edition of *The Power of Love and Wine*, he at least acquired the most intimate knowledge of everything the representation of which would have been necessary to a realistic treatment of that subject. He was always of a convivial bent, and had, like his Irish contemporary Thomas Moore, a social gift for the composition of light, pleasant songs and the performance of them, to his own accompaniment (in Weber's case on the guitar, an instrument to which he was long devoted). This in youth was probably a snare. It gave him too much social popularity.

A separation from Vienna companionships soon came, however, through Vogler's recommendation of him for the conductorship of the Opera House at Breslau. Here his boyish impetuosity led him towards undesired improvements. For instance, the existing arrange-

ment of the Orchestra was Wind in front and Strings behind, and he arranged it, apparently in something like the way now universally accepted, to right and left of his conductor's desk. This caused him trouble, and so, too, did the gambling and love-making with which he beguiled his leisure hours.

Another Opera was composed, *Rübezahl* ('Turnip Counting', —a fantastic fairy-tale subject), now long forgotten, though its Overture, remodelled, was long popular in this and other countries, and is still occasionally heard, as *The Ruler of the Spirits*.

There followed a short period at Carlsruhe, at the court of the Duke of Würtemberg, 'a brilliant little court, where powdered and pigtailed courtiers, with cocked hat and sword, wandered hand in hand with high-wigged and high-heeled beauties through the wondering green forests' (to quote from the biography of the composer by his son). Weber's musical talents were appreciated here, and he was encouraged to compose a great deal of music for princely consumption. A title of Ducal Intendant was given him, as a kindly effort towards providing him an official footing for a further leap forward.

The Napoleonic Wars recalled the Duke to army duties, but he recommended his 'Musik-Intendant' to his brothers at Stuttgart, the King of Würtemberg and Duke Ludwig, the latter of whom appointed the young man as his private secretary, with the difficult duty of soothing existing creditors and effecting further loans. Here was a kingdom where the common people languished in misery and the court wallowed in luxury, and when we hear of 'the warming of whole lakes in winter for the ducal duck-shooting' (why, by the way, cannot historians be more detailed—one would like to ask 'How?') we can imagine that money in that court became scarce.

Weber's frequent secretarial intercessions with the King on behalf of the spendthrift Duke brought him no favour, and when, irritated and reckless, he directed an old woman who was seeking the Royal Washerwoman to the room of Royalty Itself, he promptly found himself in prison, where, with the greatest appropriateness, he beguiled himself by the composition of his song *Life is Strife* ('Ein steter Kampf ist unser Leben'). Later he was charged (it is believed quite unjustly) with taking bribes to excuse men from military service, again arrested, and finally thrust into a carriage and

deposited on the farther side of the frontier, with the warning that he was banished for life. It was time! The court life was of the most corrupt and he not the man, as yet, to defy demoralizing influences.

But he had done some work at Stuttgart. Guided by the Court Librarian he had read Kant and Schelling; he had also composed another Opera, *Sylvana,* and a sort of Recitation-Cantata, *The First Tone*, which for a few years remained one of his chief means of introducing himself to the musical public of any new locality.

Mannheim was the next place of residence. It was a place of great musical reputation, and there and in the neighbouring Heidelberg he made many friends and had much artistic success, specializing somewhat, as an essentially dramatically minded musician, in the composition of a more elaborate form of 'Lied', or Song— one in which the music, instead of being repeated verse by verse, should adapt itself continually to the thought and feeling of the poem. In this musical form Weber may be said to be one of the pioneers.

At Darmstadt, shortly after, he made many friends, particularly one Jakob Liebmann Beer, son of a rich banker, later known to fame as Meyerbeer, and long an intimate friend of Weber, who, however, in later years felt it necessary to protest against the Italianizing influence of his colleague's operas. (Weber was, before everything, a patriotic German musician). At Darmstadt Weber completed his one-act comic Operetta, *Abu Hassan.*

About this part of Germany Weber continued to wander, active in concert-giving, composition, and literary work. For many years he occupied himself very energetically in musical criticism, almost as Schumann did a little later. The growth of the literary faculty amongst musicians at this period is significant. They both read and wrote, and a connexion between the arts of literature and music was established which strongly influenced the course of the latter. For years Weber intermittently worked upon an autobiographical novel, *The Wanderings of a Musical Artist,* but it was never completed. At various times, too, he planned a musical dictionary, a musical review, a history of music in Vienna, and a life of his old teacher Vogler.

At Munich, a friendship sprang up between Weber and the celebrated clarinettist, Bärmann, whence many joint concerts and

the presence of much well-written clarinet music in the list of the composer's works. Adventurous ups and downs marked this period of Weber's life. Is it not on record that during one of the 'downs' he pawned his best trousers?

And so youth wore on. In the years before Waterloo our hero reaped much fame by the composition of patriotic songs for men's voices, under the title of *Lyre and Sword*,[1] which gave a great impetus to male choral society activities. His other compositions began to attract more and more attention. He became a 'coming man'. Royalty gave him frequent passing recognition—and in those days courts were very numerous in Central Europe. 'Weber will soon arrive', wrote Prince Frederick to his officials at Gotha. 'Let the blue chamber be prepared for him; hire a piano and put pens, ink, paper, and candles in his room. Provide his meals until my return, when he shall daily have a place at my table.' Music had not yet emerged from the period of patronage; Beethoven, at Vienna, had nominally achieved independence, but in this he was merely a half-successful pioneer.

At last came Prague. At the age of twenty-six, Weber settled there as Opera Director. Bohemia was musical, and Weber worked hard to provide it with the Catel, Méhul, Spontini and Cherubini performances that it liked. Amongst the singers engaged was a fine soprano, Caroline Brandt, who some time later became Weber's wife. She was an admirer of Napoleon, and *Lyre and Sword* was at first a barrier. But love conquered.

Sometimes Weber met Hoffmann, the musician-novelist whose strange, romantic fancies were to have so much influence upon music (chiefly, however, through Schumann). Said Weber, in a letter to his fiancée, 'There is a look of a little demon gleaming in his face . . . Have you read the *Phantasiestücke*? . . . it shows an exuberant fancy, but (if I dare say so) a want of all settled purpose in the carrying out of the whole.'

On Christmas morning, 1816 (Weber was then thirty) came what the elated composer described as 'A joyful Christmas-box'—the appointment as Court Capellmeister at Dresden. And at the same

[1] Settings of Körner, the patriot poet who was killed in action in 1813, and whose death made a great stir.

time as this communication arrived from the King of Saxony, there arrived also a costly ring from the King of Hanover, and a snuff-box from the King of Bavaria. Weber was getting on!

So to Dresden Weber went. He married his Caroline and settled down, still gay-hearted but now a respectable citizen and—a Court Capellmeister.

There is, however, no silver lining without a cloud, and over this Dresden life hung several clouds. Weber's duties were connected with the new German Opera, but there was also a long-established Italian Opera, in which the Court took a good deal more interest. And it had its own Director, Morlacchi, a schemer and that kind of man who regards a colleague as a competitor. The King was far off; one approached him formally, through ministers, and one never knew whether one's petitions were correctly carried. Innovations were not welcomed. Previous conductors had sat at the piano, Weber determined to use a baton. A 'cellist and a double-bassist sat behind the conductor, read out of his score, and played, the 'cellist into his left ear and the double-bassist into his right, so that he could not hear the rest of the band. But what was wrong with that? Why will young men try to overturn settled customs?

The composition of *Der Freischütz* ('The Marksman') is the outstanding creative activity of Weber's Dresden career. *Der Freischütz* (1820) marks an epoch. It is German and it is romantic. It has tender love-making and magic bullets and a Wolf's Glen. It has spoken dialogue according to the German tradition. Its music and perhaps especially its orchestration were in many ways novel. The first performance took place at Berlin in 1821, and was an enormous success. The performance of the Overture at Dresden in the previous year had been a failure. People could not understand it. It was too 'modern'. The Opera itself did not please every one. Tieck, for instance, great leader in the German Romantic literary movement as he was, could not adapt himself at once to German romance in music, and called *Der Freischütz* 'the most unmusical row that was ever roared upon a stage'. Yet Tieck was a personal friend of Weber, whose relations with most of the foremost men in the German literary world were intimate.

Of *Euryanthe* there is little space to write here. Its production

took place in Vienna. The visit there for the purpose of its preparation brought about a meeting with Beethoven—dressed in a shabby, torn dressing-gown, and shouting, as he came to greet the younger composer, 'So there you are, my boy; you are a devil of a fellow! God bless you!' Weber in earlier life had failed to appreciate his senior's work and had sometimes written against it, but that was a passing phase, and later he had won a special reputation as an interpreter of the Piano Sonatas.

Another Viennese composer, Schubert, condemned *Euryanthe* as 'unmusical', deficient in melody, and overpowering in orchestration. The 'book' of *Euryanthe*, by an absurd poetess (one von Chezy)[1] was a drag on the Opera, and the poetess herself, by her imagined slights and frequent financial demands, a constant nuisance to the composer. *Euryanthe* is Weber's one 'grand opera', i. e. everything is set to music, with no spoken dialogue.

An invitation to England now reached Weber—from Kemble, then lessee of Covent Garden theatre. He became busy with efforts to make favourable terms (which he found difficult) and to learn the English language (which he apparently found easy). He had a powerful motive in wishing to make this London visit financially profitable. His wretched wandering childhood, dragged at the heels of his comedian father, his youthful dissipations, and the feverish activities and incessant anxieties of his operatic life had left their mark on a somewhat feeble constitution. Perhaps, too, the accident with the acid had left permanent injury, for his throat was affected. He was not yet forty, yet he felt himself to be already nearing his life's term. The one-time rake had become an affectionate husband and father and longed to provide adequately for his wife and family.

Oberon was the Opera written for this English occasion. The hackneyed phrase 'written with his life's blood' is the most apt available to describe the conditions of composition of this work. Weber gritted his teeth and struggled with the task. To one who asked how he was, he replied, 'How am I? Bless the man, I've got nothing but a galloping consumption.' To another who urged that he was not in a fit state for the journey, he replied, 'Money must be made for my family. I'm going to London to die there.'

[1] The librettist of Schubert's *Rosamunde*.

And so, alas, he did! He was well cared for by his host, Sir George Smart, Organist of the Chapel Royal ('Every possible comfort. . . . Even a bathroom in the house!' he exclaimed in a letter home); he was fêted; crowds cheered him at Covent Garden (for *Der Freischütz* had already made him a popular favourite); *Oberon* was a great success; the audience loved both it and its creator, and jellies, sweets, and lozenges poured into Sir George Smart's house from sympathetic admirers who had noticed the composer-conductor's coughing at the theatre; Weber, indeed, had everything but the health to enjoy what he had. At a party given by a Member of Parliament, Smart and Mori the violinist, had to carry Weber upstairs to the drawing-room, so weak had he become. He longed for home, wife, and children, and insisted that he was well enough to travel. On the evening of 4th June, 1826, Smart, Moscheles, and other friends consulted together as to how they could dissuade him from the journey (then an affair of perhaps three weeks). Their concern was needless, it was not that journey he was to take. They had earlier in the evening helped him to bed, and there he was found in the morning, dead a few hours after they had left him. His last words had been, 'Now let me sleep.'

He was buried in London, but eighteen years later his body was taken back to Dresden, where the young Operatic Composer, Richard Wagner, one of his admirers since boyhood, delivered an address over his second grave, and conducted a Funeral March, on Motives from *Euryanthe*, that he had written specially for the occasion.

As composer, Weber stands, as already suggested, as the definite founder of the German Romantic School; his romantic feeling was expressed not merely in his Operas but in a large amount of instrumental music. As pianist he was brilliant, and his long-drawn, finely graded *crescendo* was a famous characteristic of his performances. As conductor he seems to have been really able. As stage director (born and reared in theatrical circles) he knew his business from A to Z.

Eight years before his death Weber had suggested his own epitaph—'Here lies one who meant honestly towards music and towards men.'

MEYERBEER

Meyerbeer (1791–1864) came of a Jewish family in Berlin, the Beers (he added the 'Meyer' on receiving a legacy from a relative of that name). The father was a rich banker, the mother a highly cultured woman, and the house a resort for thinking and artistic people. One of his brothers became known as an astronomer and another as a poet.

In early years Meyerbeer became locally famous as a pianist. He studied theory under Zelter, the friend of Goethe and the future teacher of Mendelssohn and at that time Director of the Opera in Berlin.

Then he went to Darmstadt to work under the celebrated Abbé Vogler. Weber was there at the time; he also had been a pupil of Vogler and the two young men, nineteen and twenty-four respectively, became fast friends.

In Vienna Meyerbeer heard Hummel play the piano, and, humiliated by his own inferiority, secluded himself for some months, revising his technique and composing pianoforte music. Then he appeared as a pianist and with great éclat.

At thirty we find Meyerbeer, who has already composed an opera or two, in Italy studying the treatment of the voice by Rossini and other Italian composers. He wrote a number of Italian Operas and had them performed in Italy with a good deal of success. Weber and other old friends in Germany were annoyed by his defection from the cause of German national opera.

Then he settled in Paris, studied French literature and music, took Scribe for his librettist, and wrote French Operas. *Robert the Devil* made a great stir in Paris in 1831, and so did *The Huguenots* in 1836, and *The Prophet* in 1849 (composed, however, six years earlier).

All this time Meyerbeer was dividing his time between the French and German capitals. He was appointed Royal Director of Music at Berlin in 1842. In 1847, he took up Wagner's *Rienzi*, the showy nature of which probably appealed to him, and gave it a Berlin first performance (its first appearance had been in Dresden, five years earlier). Similarly he early performed *The Flying Dutchman*.

He continued to produce showy, glittering, pageant-like operas in Paris, and died there in 1864.

For Wagner's relations with Meyerbeer see page 129. After Wagner had emerged from his first expansive period in opera composition, he found Meyerbeer meretricious. He called him 'a Jew banker who happened to compose music'. As an interesting light on the varying methods of composers, consider, on the one hand, Meyerbeer, who was always fussily making changes in his orchestration and even on occasion supplied the players with alternative readings of various passages in different coloured inks, so that he might try the different effects, and, on the other hand, Wagner, who published the score of *Tristan and Isolda* before he had ever heard a note of it, and never made the slightest change after he did hear it.

The serious Romantics such as Weber, Schumann, and Wagner, looked on Meyerbeer as a bit of a blackleg. Schumann hated *The Huguenots*. In a famous philippic he said, 'One is often inclined to clutch one's forehead, to feel whether all up there is in sound condition, when one considers Meyerbeer's success in healthy, musical Germany. . . . I place him at once amongst Franconi's circus people'. In his *Operatic Note Book, 1847–50* (see his *Music and Musicians*) he has a number of short critiques such as these:

'Oberon', by Weber, March 18th, 1848.

Too lyrical a subject. The music, too, falls below that of Weber's other operas in freshness. A slap-dash performance.

'Fidelio', by Beethoven, August 11th, 1848.

Bad performance; inexplicable tempi—under Richard Wagner.

'Le Prophète', by Gia. Meyerbeer, February 2nd, 1850.

†

BERLIOZ

Berlioz (1803–69) was a Southern Frenchman. He was born near Grenoble, in the Dauphiné. But his life was lived in Paris, at the time he entered it the Paris of the waning Classics and the waxing Romantics. And with the Romantics, the Romantics in literature, art, and music, he associated—with Hugo and Dumas and Mérimée and Gautier, Sainte-Beuve, Balzac, Eugène Sue, and Vigny, with Delacroix and the other Romantic painters, with Chopin and Liszt. All these men were his friends, and in their circle he ranked high. Gautier, long after, looking back over the Romantic period through which he had lived, picked out its most notable representatives in three arts and said, 'Hector Berlioz seems to me to form with Hugo and Delacroix the Trinity of Romantic Art.'

Berlioz.

Berlioz was a Romantic from his birth. His father grumbled of him as a small boy, 'He knows every island of the South Sea, yet cannot tell me how many departments there are in France.' At this time a touching phrase in Virgil made him cry.

The bounds of Romance are wide. In English poetry they range from Keats to Byron. In music they range from Chopin to Berlioz. Much of the art of Berlioz marks well-nigh the furthest reach of romance in the direction of horror and the grotesque. This music is drama and often melodrama. Such was the natural bent of his mind. He loved the exotic and the gruesome; he almost preferred life's mustard to its meat. His whole life was to him a stirring drama played on a stage that often resembled the Musée Wirtz. As a young man in Rome he used a human skull as a drinking-cup and read Byron in a confessional at St. Peter's. At Florence, seeing the body of a dead woman being carried to the mortuary, he bribed the keeper to let him enter, and sat for a long time holding the hand of the corpse.

His love affairs are significant. Leaving out minor adventures, which would take too long to tell and edify nobody, they are as follows :—At fourteen he fell in love with a grown-up young lady with pink shoes. When he saw her he trembled and was tongue-tied. His family, with some amusement, observed his passion, and so did its object, but he never told his love.

At twenty-four, in Paris, his imagination was suddenly gripped by the beauty and dramatic power of the Irish Shakespearean actress, Harriet Smithson. He sent her impassioned letters and moved heaven and earth to get a word with her, but she would have none of him! He nearly went mad. Once, worn out with passion, he slept for five hours on a café table, to the dismay of the waiters.

Then he fell in love with a young pianist of talent (later known to all the world as Madame Pleyel). He became engaged to her, but winning the Prix de Rome had to leave her to take up his residence in the Villa Medici. Then came to him in Rome news that she had married another. Throwing up his scholarship, he hurried off intent on murder and suicide. At Florence he bought woman's clothes and a pistol. They were left behind at one of the stages of the journey, so at Genoa he replaced them. At Nice he suddenly began to cool, changed his purpose, and returned to Rome.

Back in Paris some time afterwards, he found Miss Smithson again. His 'Fantastic' Symphony (see page 34) had been written as an expression of his feelings towards her. He gave a concert, including this composition in its programme, and induced her to attend—allotting her, the heroine of a piece by no means entirely complimentary in its implications, the embarrassing position of a middle front seat of the balcony. At thirty-one, after incredible efforts, he broke down her resistance and married her.

Soon, however, another flame burnt in his heart. A Mademoiselle Recio, a mediocre vocalist, claimed him. He took up residence with her and her mother. With her he toured Europe—ever troubled because, with her poor voice and slender musicianship, she insisted on singing at every one of his concerts, yet unable to break the chains.

At last, when he was over fifty, his legal wife died. Heart-broken he buried the actress and married the singer.

When he was approaching sixty, the singer in turn died. Heart-broken again, he buried her too.

The actress's grave had only been leased for ten years : at the end of the period the authorities called on him to remove the body. By dead of night, under his supervision, the grave was opened. The coffin broke : within was but black dust and bones, which with a trowel the grave-digger transferred to another coffin. They carried the actress to the singer's vault, and leaving them side by side, the double widower turned sadly away.

What was there left in life for this poor, feeling, ageing man ? He bethought himself of the pink slippers. He made inquiries. He discovered the lady. She was now a widow, and nearing seventy. He wrote tender letters to her: he paid her visits, travelling from Paris to Geneva where she now lived. He begged her to marry him. She refused. The most she ever accorded him was—to allow him to stand godfather to one of her grandchildren.

And so at the beginning and end of the story we enjoy the romance of the lady with the pink shoes, in the middle of it the romance of the Shakespearean actress, and in the middle of that the romance of the lady pianist. And mixed up with it all there are the romance of the ambitious vocalist and a good many minor romances, too. Berlioz thus carried to near the point of madness the illustration of one principle of the romantic theory—not Rule but direct reaction to Impulse.

Berlioz, who thus, in life, revelled in the romantic, naturally revelled in it also in literature. Look at the list of his works and you see at once the extent to which he depended upon the literary expression of the romantic for his musical inspiration. Shakespeare is there (*Hamlet*, *King Lear*, *The Tempest*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Much Ado about Nothing*), Scott is there (*Waverley*, *Rob Roy*), Thomas Moore is there (settings of some of the *Irish Melodies*) ; Byron is there (*Childe Harold*, *The Corsair*), Goethe is there (*Faust*) ; and so on.

One frequent manifestation of the romantic spirit is the love of the grandiose. Berlioz had this, combined with a Napoleonic craving for 'glory'. He loved to write 'pièces d'occasion' and to produce them in a way that almost entitles him to be called the Barnum of music. His great *Requiem*, performed in the Invalides in memory

of the soldiers killed in the Algerian campaign, requires 210 voices, but Berlioz indicates that where possible he advises the use of 700 to 800; it also calls for an orchestra of 155, stringed instruments and wind instruments, sixteen Kettledrums, some other percussion instruments, with four Brass Bands! His *Te Deum*, written for the opening of the Paris Exposition of 1855, is on a similar scale. At the inauguration of the Column of July, on the tenth anniversary of the revolution of 1830, he wrote a Funeral Symphony for a Military Band of 200 players, conducting it with a sword (there was an immense funeral car of fifty coffins, to be placed in the vault under the column—a grandiose idea that must have appealed strongly to the composer-conductor). At the Exposition of 1844, in the Hall of Machinery, Berlioz conducted a force of 1,200; for the opening of the Chemin de Fer du Nord he wrote a *Song of the Railway*. He loved to compose music for ceremonies of any kind. He even wrote a piece in readiness for the consecration of a projected Tabernacle in the Champs Elysées for the mulatto quack 'Docteur Noir'—the temple 'predicted by Solomon and described by Ezekiel'. More pleasing is the record of the overwhelming impression made on him by ceremonial music on a large scale in London—the annual singing of the 6,000 Charity Children in St. Paul's (which sixty years earlier had so pleased Haydn). He exclaimed, 'Beyond compare the most imposing, most *Babylonian* ceremony I ever witnessed—a realization of part of my dream, and proof of the still unrealized power of vast masses!'

Berlioz' ideal orchestra, as sketched in his famous treatise on Instrumentation, would include 242 strings, 30 grand pianos, 30 harps, and wind and percussion to scale. But his romantic tonal ideas were more than a demand for big forces. He studied refinements of orchestral tone as nobody previously had done, and as only his younger contemporary, Wagner, was then doing, and he was the man in all Europe who could best advise whether in a given passage one would (say) best employ a drumstick with a wooden head, one with a felt-covered head, or one with a sponge head. Romantic expression in music is much a matter of colour, harmonic colour and tonal colour; these things make that direct emotional appeal which is the very essence of romantic art.

And this composer, who studied so minutely the power of every instrument and every combination of instruments, himself played only the flute and the guitar—two of the instruments which, great though their powers may be, least of all impress us by any offer of a large variety of effect.

This brings us to the story of Berlioz' life, which shall be very briefly told.

He was born at Côte St. André, in 1803 (so preceding by six or seven years Chopin, Mendelssohn, and Schumann and by ten Wagner). His father was a doctor. As a child he found amongst the household rubbish a flageolet, and his father taught him how to play it, and later bought him a flute. From a local musician he learnt to play the guitar, and he taught himself harmony from an old elementary textbook.

At eighteen he went to Paris to study medicine, but in opposition to his parents took to the study of music instead (living a cheap vegetarian life in a garret and supporting himself by singing in the chorus at a second-rate theatre). His highest gods were Gluck and (later) Beethoven and Weber. His teacher of composition (first privately and then at the Conservatoire) was Lesueur, who more than thirty years before, had lost the directorship of the music at Notre-Dame by aiming at making sacred music 'dramatic' and 'descriptive' (which was what Berlioz himself decidedly did later), and had enjoyed much success as an opera-composer.

It took Berlioz five attempts to win the Prix de Rome, for his style was too original (and, let us admit, often too lacking in 'finish') to please his judges. In 1826 he failed in the preliminary. In 1827 he passed this but won nothing in the final examination. In 1828 he won a second prize. In 1829 no candidate was adjudged worthy of any award whatever. In 1830 he carried off the First Prize. Here is a characteristic touch: 'As I finished composing my Examination Cantata the Revolution broke out. Grape-shot rattled on the doors and cannon-balls shook the building. Women screamed. I hurried over the last pages of the Cantata and was free to roam the streets, pistol in hand.' The prize, of course, was residence in Rome, and here he remained about a year and a half.

The rest of his life is a story of love affairs, financial losses over

concerts to which few came, occasional concert triumphs in Paris, and more often in Germany and Russia, visits to England, where in 1848 Jullien offered him a huge sum as conductor of Drury Lane and then became bankrupt and failed to pay, and where in 1852 and 1855 he was engaged to conduct the New Philharmonic Society (in the latter year in opposition to Wagner, who was conducting the old, original Philharmonic).

His last days were saddened by the loss of his only son and of most of the friends of his youth, and in 1869 he turned his back on the world and gave up the ghost.

The epitaph he had long ago suggested for himself came from his admired Shakespeare:—

> Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player
> That struts and frets his hour upon the stage
> And then is heard no more: it is a tale
> Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury,
> Signifying nothing.

All his life Berlioz had been the stormy petrel of music, or, to use other similes (those of a contemporary Viennese music critic), 'a sort of spiritual yeast that puts everybody's mind in a ferment, or, perhaps, a sort of musical earthquake!'

The fermenting or seismic influence of Berlioz was not only exercised by means of composition but also by means of criticism. For a quarter of a century he served as music critic of the *Journal des Débats*, holding thus a powerful position, of which he made use to the full. He also wrote many books, all of a very personal kind, full of southern romantic exaggerations and of sardonic humour. With all his extravagances there is a vein of solid good sense beneath everything that Berlioz wrote, and this applies also to his music, which, if bold to excess and entirely devoid of reticence, is original to a very rare degree, not always well worked out in its details, not always conformable to the principles of good part-writing, and containing passages very unequal in value, and sometimes commonplace, yet, when sympathetically performed, usually extremely effective, especially perhaps from the skill of the orchestration.

After all, the world of art needs an occasional 'earthquake', and in Berlioz and his friend Wagner it had two at one time.

SCHUMANN

Robert Alexander Schumann was born in 1810, at Zwickau, in Saxony, and died in 1856, near Bonn. He had, so far as we know, no musical ancestry. One of his grandfathers was a pastor and the other a surgeon, and his father was a bookseller and publisher. What Schumann inherited was, apparently, a tendency towards the intellectual life ; what was individual to him (apparently alone of his family) was the musical gift. This tendency and this gift were intertwined in his being, and he is outstanding as the distinctively literary-minded composer, expressing in much of what he writes as music what he has read as literature, yet (unlike the definitely 'Programme Music' composers) remaining within the natural frontiers of the musical art.

Schumann.

It is worth mentioning that Schumann's mother seems to have been mentally somewhat unbalanced—subject to fits of gloom and silence. A sister, too, became melancholic, and during a paroxysm of an illness, drowned herself. As will be seen in a moment, a tendency to melancholia and an indisposition to conversation, which frequently became very puzzling to those who met him, were characteristic of the Composer himself. At the age of forty-four he attempted suicide by drowning and at the age of forty-six he died in a lunatic asylum. There seems to have been a drift to alcoholism during earlier manhood, but that, apparently, was, by an effort of the will, at last overcome. Schumann's temperament was clearly abnormal, and it is surprising that so little trace of this is to be seen in his composition.

Let us return to the father, for much turns upon his character and occupation. Very early he busied himself by writing dramas and learning English. Milton and Young (strange combination as this seems to us to-day) took a hold upon his imagination—the latter so strongly that for a time he believed his intellect to be shaken by his enthusiasm. He wanted to go to the University but could not afford

it, so became a grocer's assistant. But he made a little money by billiard-playing and by writing a play, and spent it on a short period of University study. Then he wrote a book, *Scenes of Knighthood and Tales of Monkish Life*—a title thoroughly typical of the new romantic tastes of the period, in which he shared. Then he became a grocer once more. But this grocer wrote novels, seven in eighteen months, and so gaining capital, set up in business for himself, married, combined a circulating library with his grocery, turned at last to publishing, and brought out a series of business manuals, directories, dictionaries in various languages, a local paper, novels, and translations of those new romantic English writers, Scott and Byron. Whilst engaged in producing his own translation of *Childe Harold*, in his early fifties, he died, worn out with the effects of continual overwork upon a naturally weak constitution.

Zwickau, where Robert was born and spent his first eighteen years, was during his boyhood a town of only about 4,000 inhabitants. It had little musical life, but the Town Musicians survived, as, too, the poor scholars singing in the streets as they used to do in the German towns in the time of Luther; there were some rare Oratorio performances (generally of Haydn's *Creation*), and occasional Opera performances (Mozart, Weber's *Der Freischütz*, Méhul's *Joseph*, light Viennese Operas, and the old-style 'Singspiel'[1]).

The boy's education was the regulation classical one, and it went far enough for him to be useful as a proof-reader on a great Latin dictionary published by the family firm. His early musical instruction he got from small local musicians, his father encouraging him and buying for him all the music for which he cared to ask—four-hand 'arrangements' of the Symphonies and Overtures of Haydn, Mozart and Beethoven, and the like. Some Chamber Music he heard at the house of a music-loving local manufacturer.

Early literary tastes were very pronounced. He was a leader in the school literary society, and at sixteen or seventeen became an enthusiast for the writings of Jean-Paul Richter. There were some love-silliness, some champagne madness, debts and borrowings and a general lack of money-sense, with a sentimentality that occasionally finds amusing expression in correspondence—

[1] See p. 55.

> Nature is the great outspread handkerchief of God, embroidered with His Eternal Name, on which man can dry all his tears of sorrow,

and—

> Oh friend! were I a Smile, I would hover round her eyes; were I Joy, I would skip softly through her pulses; were I a Tear, I would weep with her; and if she smiled again, I would die on her eyelash, and gladly, yes gladly, be no more.[1]

(This last series of thoughts, cast into metre and rhyme by some German poet of the time, and set to music by Beethoven, Weber, Schubert, or Schumann himself, would, however, hardly attract our attention as in any way remarkable. It is typically 'Romantic'; it definitely represents a part of the spirit of the time.)

Sent to the University of Leipzig, Schumann studied law ('icy-cold and dry')—or rather he did not study it, preferring the delights of the Gewandhaus Concerts and the company and teaching of the great piano-pedagogue, Wieck. Later, at Heidelberg he was fortunate in finding in the Professor of Jurisprudence, Thibaut, a keen musician who ran a private choral society at his own house and revelled in Palestrina, Handel, and Bach. Schumann as undergraduate still managed his money badly and was once threatened with imprisonment for failing to pay his University dues. And he still drank a good deal.

Soon he returned to Leipzig, determined to be a musician, and settled down to study under Wieck—who once admitted that if Liszt had only had a proper teacher he would have been 'the greatest pianist in the world', and now promised to put Schumann, if he would only keep his nose to the grindstone for three steady years, into a position of something like the same glory.

Then came an accident. Later, in one of Wieck's books, appeared a guarded reference to 'the finger-tormentor devised by a famous pupil of mine, which he invented contrary to my wish and used behind my back, to the righteous dismay of his third and fourth fingers'. The damage, unfortunately, was permanent, and the virtuoso avenue to fame was thenceforth barred. Composition

[1] See Niecks' *Schumann*, from which have been taken the translations of several passages in this sketch.

lessons were, however, pursued under Dorn, Director of the Leipzig Opera House, and another avenue was soon thrown open.

At this time Schumann loved Goethe, Moore, Byron, and above all E. T. A. Hoffmann and Jean-Paul Richter ('When I play Schubert I feel as if I were reading a novel of Jean-Paul set to music'—could there, from a romantically minded musician-littérateur of the eighteen-thirties, be higher praise, for either Schubert or Jean-Paul?).

Like Weber, thirty years earlier, Schumann itched to express himself in words as well as tones; he was by nature as much music-critic as practising musician. In 1833, with a band of friends, he started a paper, the *Leipzig New Musical Journal*, or 'Neue Leipziger Zeitschrift für Musik' ('the tone of the whole to be fresher and more varied than that of the other papers; in particular we shall block up the old worn-out ways'). Here is Schumann's own after-recollection.

> It cannot be said that musical conditions in Germany at that time were very pleasing. Rossini ruled the stage, Herz and Hünten almost exclusively the pianoforte. Yet only a few years had passed since Beethoven, C. M. von Weber, and Franz Schubert had lived among us. True, Mendelssohn's star was in the ascendant, and wonderful things were being heard of a Pole, one Chopin, but it was not till later that these exercised a more lasting influence. Then one day the thought flashed across the young hotheads: let us not look on idly, let us be up and doing to improve matters, let us set about restoring the poetry of art to its place of honour. So there appeared the first pages of a new musical periodical.

Of this paper Schumann himself soon became Manager and Editor. The 'David's Band' feature of this journal, an ingenious whim of the Editor's imagination, had its counterpart in Schumann's music; e.g. Eusebius and Florestan mentioned on p. 32 of the present volume, were two members of this bold company of Philistine-slayers.

As a critic Schumann was one of the first to hail the advent of Chopin ('Hats off, Gentlemen, a genius!')[1] and, more than twenty years later, Brahms (in the famous article *New Paths*—'Neue Bahnen').[2]

This second stay in Leipzig lasted fourteen years (from 1830 to

[1] *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung*, 1831.

[2] *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*, 1853 (see p. 139).

1844, i. e. from the twentieth to the thirty-fourth year of the Composer's age). It saw the composition of many great Piano works (1830–9 especially—in the early part of his career, as will be noted, the Composer tended to concentrate for a time on some one branch of composition), many Songs, Chamber Music pieces (1842), the First Symphony (in B flat), the first Version of what is now called the Fourth Symphony (in D minor),[1] and the First Movement of the great Piano Concerto. It also saw the slow winning of some reputation, one or two abortive love affairs, and—the fight for a wife.

The wife was Wieck's daughter, nine years younger than Schumann himself, her father's show pupil and a really fine pianist who was destined after Schumann's death, by her playing of his compositions, at last to win for them the world's recognition. The engagement was opposed by the father, who, in imagination, after all the years of careful technical and artistic training he had given his daughter, saw a disquieting vision of 'Clara with a perambulator'. He even threatened to shoot Schumann. There was secret correspondence, there was temporary partial estrangement, there were the other concomitants of the 'course-of-true-love-never-did-run-smooth' type of romance. At length legal proceedings were instituted to force the father's consent (or rather to dispense with it), and on the eve of Clara's twenty-first birthday, the musician pair were married. An outburst of song (1840–2) marks the event.

What a wonderful wife to a somewhat wayward genius Clara made, every one knows; what a mother she made has of late years been revealed to us in the memoirs of one of her daughters.[2] 'Clara with a perambulator' was often seen. Seven babies occupied it in turn, but the pianist was never lost in the parent, and domestic and public life ran in a wonderfully fitted double-counterpoint, now one melody and now the other uppermost, but neither neglected.

In 1843 the famous Leipzig Conservatorium came into being. Mendelssohn was its first Director and he at once appointed Schumann to its staff. But Schumann as a teacher was impossible; throughout a lesson he hardly spoke a word.

[1] The second to be written, but later revised and numbered 'Fourth'.

[2] *Erinnerungen von Eugenie Schumann*, 1925 (an English translation is now published).

A visit of Liszt's to Leipzig (1840) is of importance. He fraternized with the active local musical coterie, Mendelssohn, Schumann, and the rest, and he gave some wonderful public performances of pieces of Weber, Mendelssohn, and others, and dazzled people with his 'arrangements' of Schubert's songs, his Fantasia on Meyerbeer's *Huguenots*, etc. 'How extraordinarily he plays', Schumann wrote to his wife, who was away, 'daringly and madly, and again, tenderly and sweetly. But this world is his, not mine. Art as you practise it, and as I often do at the pianoforte when composing, that *expression of an inner mood*,[1] I would not exchange for all his magnificence. There is some tinsel with it, too. You know what I mean.' Schumann said, too, 'Liszt came here much spoilt by the aristocracy, and kept complaining of the want of countesses and princesses and fine *toilettes*, so I became annoyed and told him we had our aristocracy too—a hundred and fifty bookshops, fifty printing houses, and thirty journals.' There spoke the publisher's son and the literary-minded musician.

Concert tours with Clara (one of these through Berlin and on to St. Petersburg and Moscow) broke the routine of Leipzig life. Bad health was frequent, and it was in a state of nervous collapse, suffering from sleeplessness, twitchings, itching, terrors, and delusions, wearied and disheartened, that Schumann left Leipzig, in 1844, to settle in Dresden. It was eighteen years since Weber had led there so troubled an existence as Conductor of the German Opera, and Wagner now occupied this official position. His *Rienzi* had been heard there two years before (1842), his *Flying Dutchman* the previous year (1843), these being the first performances of these works (Weber, it will be remembered, had to go elsewhere for his first performances); *Tannhäuser* was first heard the following year (1845); the libretto of *Lohengrin* Wagner read a little later to a gathering of musicians of whom Schumann was one. A new force in music was becoming powerful, and Schumann only half welcomed it. Of *Tannhäuser*, of which Wagner had given him a copy with a friendly inscription, he wrote to Mendelssohn—

[1] The words here placed in italics represent, in the original, the word 'Gemüthlichkeit'—possibly here translatable 'cheerful intimacy', or something of the sort.

> Wagner has another Opera ready. Certainly a clever fellow full of mad ideas and infinitely audacious . . . but he is really incapable of conceiving and writing four beautiful bars (indeed hardly four *good* ones) in succession.

But a few days later he writes again—

> I must withdraw much that I wrote to you after reading the score ; on the stage everything works out quite differently. I was greatly affected by much of it.

Some years later Schumann gave what we may look upon as his final opinion of Wagner. This was in 1853, the last year of freedom. *The Ring*, *Tristan*, *The Mastersingers*, and *Parsifal* were, of course, still to come, and the judgement must have been founded merely upon *Rienzi*, *The Flying Dutchman*, *Tannhäuser*, and *Lohengrin*—

> . . . He is, to express myself briefly, not a good musician ; he has no understanding for form and euphony. But you must not judge him from pianoforte scores. If you heard his operas on the stage many parts could not but move you deeply. And if it is not clear sunlight that the genius radiates, it is often, nevertheless, a mysterious magic that overpowers our senses. But, as I said, the music apart from the representation is poor, often quite amateurish, empty and repellent, and it is a proof of the deterioration of taste that these should be put above the many dramatic masterpieces which the Germans possess.

In 1849 came the Dresden Revolution. It saw Wagner hastily slipping out of the town to evade arrest as 'a politically dangerous individual', hurrying furtively first to Liszt at Weimar, then to Paris, and finally to Zurich. Meantime Schumann (no political revolutionary he, though his *Neue Zeitschrift* had always proclaimed him the revolutionary in art), in a village on the outskirts of Dresden was quietly composing. He had, in Bacon's phrase, 'given hostages to fortune'. He had 'five children jumping about and beginning already to listen to Mozart and Beethoven'.

The antipodean difference of temperament of Schumann and Wagner is summed up in their respective reports upon one another. WAGNER ON SCHUMANN—'It is impossible to discuss with a man who will hardly open his mouth' ; SCHUMANN ON WAGNER—' I can't endure a man who talks incessantly.'

Works written at Dresden include the last two Movements of the

very romantic Pianoforte Concerto, the 'Second' Symphony (in C), the setting ('a kind of melodrama' as Clara called it) of Byron's *Manfred*, and the *Scenes from Faust*.

At Dresden Schumann had founded and conducted a choral society, which performed Palestrina, Bach, Handel, Mendelssohn, Schumann's own works, etc. Apparently the society was a success, and perhaps, by its success, became the cause of one of the greatest disasters in the Composer's life. He was invited to move to Düsseldorf to conduct its Musical Society. But his health, physical and mental, was steadily declining. Düsseldorf soon found him to be a very poor conductor—no business man, no disciplinarian, and lacking altogether in that readiness of speech which is essential if good and quick work is to be accomplished. The anecdote related by Professor Niecks' father illustrates Schumann's naïve conception of the conductor's art:

> My father told me often how one day at a rehearsal Schumann came up to him as he stood at his desk and showed him a baton with a string attached to it and to his wrist, and said with childlike simplicity and a satisfied and pleased expression on his face and in his voice, 'Look, now it can't fall again!'

The difficulty of getting rid of an eminent composer whom one has invited to settle in one's town especially to conduct the local choral society may be imagined. There are some situations that are beyond the resources of human tact, and both Robert and his devoted Clara were deeply grieved by the occurrences of this period.

Yet good work was accomplished at Düsseldorf. The Third or 'Rhenish' Symphony (in E flat) was written, the Symphony in D minor (the second to be written) was reorchestrated and became the Fourth. The scattered literary writings were collected and prepared for volume publication. But bad health and the troubles it brought were an oppression. Hallucinations grew more persistent. Before considering the invitation to settle in Düsseldorf Schumann had consulted a guide-book and had found an objection in the town's possession of a lunatic asylum. 'I am obliged to avoid all melancholy impressions,' he said, and explained that in another place his stay had been spoilt by the sight of such a building.

And to such a building he himself came. He begged at last to be

taken to it, for he felt the time had come. As already recorded, a sister had committed suicide by drowning, and he attempted the same end, throwing himself off a bridge into the Rhine, when rescued struggling to cast himself out of the boat, and being brought home by eight men through an excited crowd.

At the asylum he steadily became worse, and after two years there he was one day found dead in bed.[1]

The funeral procession at Bonn was led by two faithful younger friends, both in their early twenties—Joachim and Brahms.

Schumann's was a short life (though longer than Mozart's, Schubert's, Weber's, or Mendelssohn's). But much had been accomplished, and despite the trials inevitable to one who was neither physically nor mentally robust, the daily existence was cheered by much friendship and by unbroken domestic satisfaction.

MENDELSSOHN

Mendelssohn was born and brought up in a circle in which German Romanticism and German love of literature, philosophy and art in general, were tempered by German-Jewish business solidity and sober middle-class propriety.

Mendelssohn.

His grandfather, Moses Mendelssohn, a poor Jew, born in Breslau in 1720, tramped as a pedlar to Berlin, read and thought and studied incessantly, and won his way to the highest recognition as a philosopher and literary critic. He was the friend of Lessing, and the unconscious hero of his last masterpiece, *Nathan the Wise*.

Moses Mendelssohn was one of the early German students of Shakespeare, that great Romantic, just then beginning to receive a long deferred appreciation in continental Europe. His daughter, Dorothea (aunt of the com-

[1] Spitta's account in Grove's *Dictionary* (repeated in the 1927-8 edition) is incorrect. Cf. Clara's account in Professor Niecks' book (p. 289).

poser) married Friedrich Schlegel, one of the famous Schlegel brothers, the firmest and solidest pillars of the growing German Romantic literary school.

A. W. Schlegel was the great translator of Shakespeare into German; nobody did so much as he and his wife, Caroline, to naturalize the one who was in later days to be claimed as the national German poet. Friedrich Schlegel, the brother whom Dorothea Mendelssohn married, was a brilliant and active writer in the cause of the German Romantic Movement. Like so many of the romanticists he carried his ideas of romantic freedom not only into literature but into life, as is illustrated by the relations of himself and Dorothea Mendelssohn for some years before their legal union. Friedrich wrote a romantic novel *Lucinde*, with his Dorothea as the model of its heroine, in which he defended these principles of freedom in love, and Dorothea's novel, *Florentin*, had the same romantic aim and temper.

Moses Mendelssohn's second son, Abraham (father of the composer) seems to have been less brilliant but more sober than his sister. He entered the solid profession of banking, won a high position in it, married a sensible and charming woman of his own race, and lived a laborious life of strict business principles and keen artistic and literary interests, making his house a centre for gatherings of the highest intellect and artistic ability of the day.

All this suggests, briefly, the background of Felix Mendelssohn's boyhood—an aunt and uncle who were acknowledged leaders in the Romantic literary movement of the time, the proud family memory of a famous literary-philosopher grandfather, dead twenty years before the grandson's birth, friends and relatives who were notable for the positions they had won in literature and the arts, a father who was a model of prudence and a mother who could read many languages, sketch elegantly, entertain gracefully, and teach her children music.

The temperament and character of Mendelssohn reflect those influences of heredity and environment. They show a love of culture in all its forms and a marked romantic tendency sufficiently checked by prudence and common sense.

Mendelssohn was romanticist enough to be able (e. g. in his *Midsummer Night's Dream* Overture) to 'bring the fairies into the

orchestra', but he could never have created a tonal opium-vision like the 'Fantastic' Symphony of his friend Berlioz. Nor was he capable of the love adventures of Berlioz or Liszt. No breath of scandal ever clouded his reputation as a model husband and father, and Queen Victoria and Prince Albert, who would not at one period even go to hear Liszt when he played in London, invited Mendelssohn to Buckingham Palace, where the Prince played his (the Prince's) compositions to him on the organ and the Queen sang, took him to the nursery, and over the cot of the future Edward VII, speaking as one parent to another, discussed mumps and measles.

Mendelssohn was a romanticist but not a headlong romanticist. He was personally acquainted with, and (in varying degrees) in sympathy with Weber, Schumann, Chopin, Berlioz, and Liszt; as a romantic composer, however, he may be classed with the first three of these but hardly with the last two. And of all six he is, in both life and art, the most discreet.

Jacob Ludwig Felix Mendelssohn was born at Hamburg in 1809.[1] A year or two later, that city being in the occupation of the French, the family escaped in disguise to Berlin, which was their home henceforth. The parents had accepted Christianity and added the name 'Bartholdy' to their 'Mendelssohn' (though we never use it now), and Felix was brought up a Lutheran.

His first music lessons were given by the mother, but soon Zelter, the conductor of the historic Berlin Singakademie (or Choral Society) and a noted theorist, was called in to give him lessons in composition, and when the boy was fifteen, Moscheles, then one of the world's most famous pianists, undertook his piano instruction—though, as he admitted, there was by that time little left to teach, the boy's natural aptitude having already pushed him far forward. Another child of the family, Fanny, showed surprising musical talent, and but for the conventional view of the father ('for Felix music may become

[1] By a very curious coincidence the house in which Mendelssohn was born in that year was the scene in the following year of the birth of Ferdinand Hiller, another Jewish musician who played a large part in the Romantic Movement, and the close personal friend of almost all the Romantics—Berlioz, Chopin, Liszt, Meyerbeer, Schumann (whose Piano Concerto is dedicated to him), &c.

a profession, for Fanny it can only be an ornament') might have become better known to the world. In their possession of brother and sister musical prodigies the Mendelssohn and Mozart families resemble one another.

At the age of eleven Felix, as a boy alto, took his place amongst the grown-up members of the Singakademie—'in a tight-fitting jacket, cut very low at the neck, over which the trousers were buttoned, into the slanting pockets of which the little fellow liked to thrust his hands, rocking his curly head from side to side, and shifting restlessly from one foot to another'.

When the boy was twelve years old, his master, Zelter, who was a close friend of Goethe (the Zelter-Goethe correspondence is well known) took him to Weimar to visit that great man. Until Goethe's death, about ten years later, the young musician and the old poet remained intimate. 'I am Saul and you are David; when I am sad come and cheer me with your music', said the King of German Literature to this 'sweet singer of Israel'.

The early compositions of Mendelssohn were prepared for performance at the Sunday gatherings of family and friends. Before Mendelssohn was fifteen he had written thirteen Symphonies for such performances—mostly, however, only for Strings. An Opera, *The Wedding of Camacho*, was publicly performed in Berlin in 1827 (and then never again performed anywhere until 1885, when it was performed in Boston, U.S.A.).

The years from Mendelssohn's twentieth to his twenty-fourth were years of travel. His prudent father wished him before settling down to make acquaintance with the world. He explored Italy and he spent a good deal of time in Paris and in London. His reputation grew rapidly, and in England he became a special favourite. He was a friendly man, and to some extent a 'society man'; wherever he went all houses were open to him.

He conducted his C minor Symphony at the Philharmonic Society in London in 1829 (astonishing the band by using a baton—which he had had made specially for him, no such implement being then on sale in London). His associations with the Philharmonic Society were often renewed, and throughout the remainder of his life London was very dear to him—his 'smoky nest', the 'grandest and most

complex monster in the world'. He hobnobbed with the organists (Samuel Wesley, Attwood, and others) and often played the organ at St. Paul's Cathedral, at Christ Church, Newgate Street, and elsewhere.

His 'Songs without Words' were published by Novello in London (simultaneously with their publication in Germany); later they were to take the name Mendelssohn into every British drawing-room, and even to annoy their composer by a popularity that overshadowed his more important works, but at first they had a curiously slow sale. The leading English critics, Davison (*The Times*) and Chorley (*The Athenaeum*), always supported Mendelssohn, but for long decried Schumann and Wagner.

On Zelter's death, in 1832, the Mendelssohn family quite naturally expected that their young hopeful would be offered the position of conductor of the Singakademie. (He had already been offered, but had refused, the chair of music at the University of Berlin.) The wish was not realized and the family, hitherto great supporters of that institution, seceded. Compensation came to the young man in the offer of important work as Festival conductor, especially at Düsseldorf, where success in directing the Festival led in 1833 to the appointment as permanent director of the town's music—a position Schumann also, seventeen years later, was to occupy. The duties included control of the Opera (soon abandoned in disgust), of the Choral Society, and of the Church Choirs. It is rather curious that two Protestants like Mendelssohn and Schumann should have been put in charge of the church music of this Roman Catholic city; Mendelssohn roused some opposition by trying to bring into use that music of which the Roman Catholic Church has most reason to be proud—the school of Palestrina.

In 1836, at the Düsseldorf Festival, Mendelssohn produced his Oratorio, *St. Paul.*

About this time occurred the appointment as conductor at Leipzig which offered Mendelssohn the opportunity of doing what may be called his life's work, so far as official duties are concerned. In a few years he widened his work here by bringing into existence the quickly-famous Leipzig Conservatorium, of which he assumed the direction. Leipzig was the home of Clara Wieck (from 1840 Clara

Schumann); with her and her husband, and with visiting musicians such as Chopin and Berlioz, Mendelssohn was in close touch. (Schumann's passing connexion with the Conservatorium is referred to on page 98).

The foundation of an Academy of Arts at Berlin, by Frederick William IV, and this monarch's love of music, led to Mendelssohn's oscillation between Leipzig and Berlin; for the latter place he composed the music of several Greek plays.

The marriage and family life of Mendelssohn were of the happiest. There was no financial stress in his life, and the incessant musical activities in which he engaged (and which probably shortened his days) were prompted by love of his art. He was always doing something; if not composing or playing he was dancing or doing gymnastics, or swimming or painting or playing chess or billiards, or writing letters, all of which things he did really well (he was a particularly good letter-writer and the volumes of his published correspondence are important). He exercised to the full the family and racial versatility, and perhaps the flame of his versatility burnt too feverishly to burn long.

In 1847 he conducted the first performance of *Elijah* at the Birmingham Festival, for which it was composed. In the same year, at Leipzig, rather suddenly, he died, apoplexy being the immediate cause. They gave his obsequies all possible municipal honours, and then at night a torch-light procession of a thousand people conducted his body to the station. On the way to his home city of Berlin stops were made at various stations, and local choral societies were in waiting to do musical homage. So popular had Mendelssohn become that (in Germany and Britain at any rate) it seemed at first as though with his death Music had come to an end. There was little in the art of Mendelssohn to rouse opposition. Whilst often finely fashioned it was not too complex to be readily grasped by the hearer. Its orchestration was finished (except in the accompaniments of the choral works, where it was often very perfunctory) but not startling; perhaps the strongest influence in the orchestration is that of Weber. The subjects of the oratorios chimed in with the spirit of the Evangelicalism of the period. The composer provided liberally not only for the concert room but for the home, and many of his

songs and piano pieces were not too difficult for the amateur. The orchestral music was 'Romantic', but it rarely ranked as 'Programme Music' in the full sense of the term, and one did not need to be acquainted with a string of literary works before one could understand what the music was 'driving at'; the most frequent 'programme' inspiration, in fact, came not from literature but from landscape (or seascape). The *Hebrides* or *Fingal's Cave* Overture, the *Calm Sea and Prosperous Voyage* Overture, the *Italian* Symphony, the *Scottish* Symphony—in such music as this the emotion is generalized, not particularized in the detailed way that is necessary when a work of fiction provides the basis, and hence intelligent listening is easier.

It may be noted that Mendelssohn was one of the first to write independent 'Concert Overtures'.

A great debt owing to the memory of Mendelssohn is that incurred through his Bach propaganda. Handel was popular in Mendelssohn's day and all his life Mendelssohn was an active conductor of Handel's oratorios. But Bach was then neglected. Mendelssohn, at eighteen, procured from Zelter the manuscript of the *Matthew Passion* (which Zelter had bought at a waste-paper price at the sale of the effects of a cheese merchant deceased), and put it into rehearsal. In the following year he prevailed on Zelter to let his society, the Singakademie, perform it; the youth himself organized and conducted the first two performances, and Zelter the third. As a result of this revival the work was at last published and was gradually taken up all over the civilized world. At Leipzig, the most important scene of Bach's labours, Mendelssohn initiated and carried to success a project for a Bach monument. Berlioz, after a visit to Leipzig, said the creed there was, 'There is one God, Bach, and Mendelssohn is his Prophet.' Everywhere Mendelssohn went he played Bach's organ works—even in England, where at that time very few organs had the now standard compass of pedal board, which is the one required for the proper performance of Bach's pedal parts. Samuel Wesley had for some years been pushing in England the claims of Bach, 'the matchless man' as he called him, and Mendelssohn's propaganda at last brought success to the movement. (Wesley's last performance on the organ was at a London church where Mendelssohn and he

played Bach to one another, and then, with a *Nunc Dimittis*, the old man went home and died.)

It is rather curious that it should have been Mendelssohn who accomplished this Bach revival, for although in his writing he adopts Bach devices (the chorales in *St. Paul*, some passages in the Organ works, etc.) yet his own music has rather the 'easy' appeal of that of Handel than the depth and seriousness of much of Bach. Indeed in style and musical mind we may almost say, comparing two composers of the Classical period with two of the Romantic period, as Handel is to Bach, so is Mendelssohn to Schumann.

CHOPIN

By parentage Chopin was half Polish and half French. His lifetime was similarly divided. He spent about half of it in Warsaw and half in Paris. The combination in his life of Polish and French hereditary influences, Polish and French surroundings, and Polish and French sympathies affected his whole being. We may fairly say that both he and his art were of dual nationality.

Chopin.

For a short period (1738 to 1766) a former King of Poland was Duke of Lorraine; hence a thread of interest between the two countries, and hence, perhaps, the migration of Chopin's father, Nicholas Chopin of Nancy, to Warsaw in 1787. Here he became book-keeper in a snuff factory. He must have been a cultured and clever man, for he soon drifted into educational positions, some of them of official importance, and as an educationist in Warsaw the rest of his life was passed.

His lifetime and that of his son Frederick saw great changes in Poland. When he entered it, it was an Empire, with a proud record of 800 years' independence. Soon after his arrival, however, began a series of struggles to maintain that independence against the attempts of selfish neighbours. In 1795, seven years after his

arrival, and fourteen years before the birth of his son, the patriot Kosciusko was defeated and his country parcelled out amongst Russia, Prussia, and Austria. In 1830, when Frederick Chopin was twenty-one, Revolution relit the lamp of independence, but within a few months the flame was again snuffed out, and, so long as Frederick Chopin lived (and, indeed, for nearly seventy years afterwards) the word 'Poland' was a geographical rather than a political description.

It was at Zelazowa Wola, about thirty miles from Warsaw, that Chopin was born. The date is a little in dispute, but it was probably 1st March, 1809. The other children of the family (five in number) were all girls—a fact which was not without some influence upon the development of the Composer's temperament, which remained ever sensitive and delicate and rather feminine than masculine. All the sisters, by the way, like their father, had intellectual leanings; all (even the youngest, who died at the age of fourteen) occupied themselves in some degree with authorship. The mother was a Pole; little is known of her, except that she was amiable and affectionate.

Within three or four years after Chopin's birth the family moved to Warsaw—the ancient capital with its pomp and dirt, its palaces and huts, its Eastern and its Western habits and tendencies, its proud memories and its unpractical inefficiency. The boy very soon showed unusual musical talent, especially as pianist. At nine he played in public; when he was ten, the great singer, Catalani, heard him, and, amazed and admiring, gave him a watch with an inscription. He became a favourite in aristocratic houses; the Grand Duke himself made much of him.

As teachers he had for piano Zwyny, a Bohemian, and for composition Elsner, a Silesian, head of the Warsaw Conservatoire and the principal teacher of composition in the country. To a large extent, however, Chopin was self-taught, since Zwyny's lessons ceased when the pupil was twelve and Elsner's method was one designed in the very fullest measure possible to encourage originality ('Leave him in peace; his is an uncommon way because his natural gifts are uncommon'). Chopin always remembered with gratitude and affection his two teachers; when, in early manhood, he was asked in Vienna, the city of Haydn and Mozart, of Beethoven and Schubert, of famous composers and of famous teachers, how he had learnt so much in

Warsaw, remote and near the edge of European civilization, he replied, 'From Zwyny and Elsner even the greatest ass must learn something'.

Apart from music the boy's favourite studies (he had the normal high school education of the day) were Polish history and literature. He was a good caricaturist, and a clever actor—all his life popular in social circles as an amusing mimic.

On the whole Chopin's gifts, apart from that of music, seem to have been social rather than intellectual. From his earliest years to his dying day he mingled with people of culture and refinement (and, we may say, with no others), and so he became 'well informed', but he was not the reader that Schumann was, and beyond the inspiration that he undoubtedly got from the history of his native country we can trace no direct connexion (as we decidedly can with Schumann) between what he took in as literature and what he gave out as music. Everything he ever wrote is intensely 'romantic', but the romance is generalized and not, as with his German colleague, particularized by the choice of definitely romantic subjects for musical treatment. Schiller, Goethe, Byron, and Shakespeare were at the moment in ascendancy in Warsaw, as in the other capitals of Europe, but it is difficult to trace the immediate effects of these in Chopin's after-production, and the only poetic stirrings of whose existence in Chopin's mind we may be sure came from the great national writer, eleven or twelve years his senior, Mickiewicz, later exiled for his patriotism, and as an exile to become a member of Chopin's Paris circle, to organize a Polish legion in support of Mazzini in Italy, and to die a victim of the Crimean War, in Constantinople whither he had gone to oppose the enemies of his country. Not only Mickiewicz's epic writings, but also, doubtless, his adaptations of Polish folk-balladry awakened a response in the youth's ardent mind.

It is worthy of notice that the singing and fiddling and dancing of the peasantry interested Chopin. Other music he doubtless heard in plenty. There was an opera house (of rather second-rate pretensions) in Warsaw, in some of the churches were to be heard the Masses of Haydn and others, and a concert society existed, which gave weekly performances, with a new symphony in every programme —which sounds very enterprising!

At eighteen Chopin visited Berlin. A professor friend was to go there as delegate to a scientific congress, and the youth's parents seized for him the opportunity of travel under escort. He heard Operas better performed than he was accustomed to, and enjoyed Handel's *Ode on St. Cecilia's Day*—which he said represented his ideal of the sublime.

A little later Chopin spent three weeks in Vienna. At Berlin he had modestly kept in the background, neither performing in public nor even seeking introductions to Mendelssohn (who had already won much recognition) and other musicians who were there at the time. At Vienna he gave a concert or two, playing, amongst other things, his Variations on Mozart's *Don Juan* air, *Là ci darem*. He had been delighted, on calling on Haslinger, the publisher, soon after he arrived, to learn that he had already decided to publish this piece, which he had sent him a little time before.

For some time the *Là ci darem* Variations remained Chopin's *cheval de bataille*. He played them at all his concerts, and when they at last appeared in print they inspired Schumann's article, '*An Opus 2*', with its often quoted, 'Hats off, Gentlemen, a genius!'

> It seemed as if eyes, strange to me, were glancing up at me—flower eyes, basilisk eyes, peacock's eyes, maiden's eyes. In many places it looked yet brighter—I thought I saw Mozart's *Là ci darem la mano* wound through a hundred chords, Leporello seemed to wink at me, and Don Juan hurried past in his white mantle.[1]

Something like this warm appreciation was won by the piece at Vienna, and Chopin's reception as pianist was even more hearty than his reception as a composer. One characteristic in his playing was remarked upon here which was often remarked upon afterwards throughout his life—his soft playing. He did not strive for power, but made his effects by delicacy. He was afraid the papers would blame him, 'especially as the daughter of one editor is said to be a great thumper'. For the second concert Count Moritz Lichnowski, apparently thinking that the instrument used at the first one had been at fault, offered his own. This was the younger brother of the generous Count Carl Lichnowski, the intimate and helpful friend of Mozart and Beethoven. Count Carl had been dead fifteen years,

[1] From Ritter's translation of Schumann's *Music and Musicians*.

but Beethoven had died only two years before, and Count Moritz had been intimate with him to the last. Vienna had, by the way, lost Schubert only the year before Chopin's visit—but had hardly noticed the loss.

Chopin took his success modestly: 'People are surprised in me, and I'm surprised in them for being surprised in me'. He returned by Prague and Dresden, and at the latter place, Morlacchi, the director of the Italian Opera, who had been such an enemy to Weber, showed himself a friend to Chopin. But then Chopin was in no sense a business rival, as Weber had been.

Although well known in Warsaw as a pianist, Chopin had, strangely, never yet given there a concert of his own. He did so soon after his return from Vienna, playing his Concerto in F minor (also to be a favourite *cheval de bataille*), and playing it on this occasion, as on many others later, divided by the performance of some lighter piece before the second movement. Public taste at that time demanded such a concession. Clara Wieck (later Clara Schumann), when as a girl she played Beethoven's Sonatas in public, was accustomed to ease her audience in this way.

Chopin was now poised for flight. He had resolved to go out into the big world, but hesitated. 'I have a presentiment that once I leave Warsaw, I shall never return.' This presentiment was fulfilled.

His old master, Elsner, with pupils of the Conservatoire, accompanied him out of the town to a village, where they fêted him, sang a cantata Elsner had composed in his honour, and gave him a silver casket filled with Polish earth. It was the only Polish earth with which he was henceforth to have contact. We shall hear of this casket again.

Chopin's most loved friend, Titus Voychihovsky, accompanied him, and their first place of prolonged stay was to be Vienna. A few days after they arrived, there came great news from Warsaw. The 1830 Revolution had broken out. Voychihovsky immediately took flight, to 'do his bit'; Chopin, who, though not at this date an invalid, was of the 'C 3' physical type, sadly remained. The Revolution only gave Poland a momentary independence, and to a land in bondage Chopin never afterwards felt drawn to return.

In Vienna he mingled with musicians of great names—Czerny, in

the youth of some of us known by his '101', and then known by bigger things; Thalberg, the giant technician; Hummel, for two years the household apprentice of Mozart, later the successor of Haydn as Capellmeister to his Prince, and the friend of Beethoven, to whom as an extempore player he had been considered a rival; Aloys Schmitt, over whose five-finger exercises some of the older of us have spent many precious hours of our young life ('over forty years old now, and composes eighty-years-old music', said Chopin of him); and Slavik, the wonderful violinist who, as Chopin reported, 'can play ninety-six staccato notes in one bow'.

Of the pianists here mentioned, note that every one of them wrote 'methods' and 'studies' and 'exercises'. Chopin himself in later years laboured intermittently at a 'method', which, however, was never completed.

The old harpsichord was now well in the background and the technique of the newer piano was becoming settled—with as one first result the production not only of these aids to study but of showy pieces of technical exhibition, which many audiences preferred to the more serious compositions, and which at least served as explorations into unknown territory such as could afterwards be occupied by composers of serious intent.

On the whole Chopin was probably a little dissatisfied with Viennese musical taste as he found it. Not only were show pieces popular, but, as he reported in correspondence, so were the Strauss and Lanner waltz productions—which, trivial as they appeared to him, we who have lived to hear a popular dance music so much less worthy would gladly welcome back.

The Concerto in E minor was the great composition of this period; it had been written in Warsaw and now appeared very often in the Composer's programmes. It showed little skill in orchestration, and, indeed, its composer never had much. With him a Piano concerto was a Piano solo with trimmings. His was the aristocratic conception; pianist and orchestra resembled with him a king and his court. Chopin was ever, first and foremost, a Pianist, and his compositions were always a pianist-composer's self-expression.

Other places were visited, and at last (1831) Paris was reached. Louis Philippe had been about a year on the throne. Victor Hugo's famous

Preface to *Cromwell*, that resounding challenge of the Romantic school, was two or three years old ; his *Ernani* had led to vigorous fisticuffs at its first performance in the previous year, and he had just written his *Notre Dame*, with its muscular dwarf, its gracious gipsy maiden, its variegated medieval Paris street life and its Gothic architecture. The Romantic school in painting was even more firmly established. Géricault's scene of horror, *The Raft of the Medusa*,[1] was twelve years old. The historical painting of Delacroix, in which every picture tells a story, and tells it very forcibly and sometimes gruesomely, was in full favour. Berlioz had just written his *Fantastic Symphony*. Such manifestations of the Romantic spirit in the various arts find, as already hinted, little or no echo in the compositions of Chopin (the writing of Hugo, he once said, he felt to be coarse and ugly), but he must have agreed with a more sober manifesto of the Romantic attitude, that made some time before by the philosopher-statesman-orator, Cousin, 'The highest aim of any art is to awaken, *in its own way*, the feelings of the infinite.' That statement of the Romantic position, all Chopin's output supported.

In Paris music, the classicist, Cherubini, was still active. The operas of Auber and Rossini were coming in. Meyerbeer was rising well above the horizon. So was Bellini, whose well-shaped Italian melody and whose personal friendship were to give Chopin much pleasure. A host of opera writers now forgotten were then in the full swing of successful careers. Chopin had entered a busy musical hive, and felt his sympathies engaged in certain quarters and repelled in others. Of Cherubini and of Reicha (the famous teachers of counterpoint) he soon disposed. 'These gentlemen are mummies', he said.

The great pianist of the Paris of those days was Kalkbrenner. Chopin played to him and he at once asked if he were a pupil of Field—which, in one sense, he certainly was (see page 75). As a pianist, Chopin, he said, had 'no method' and he proposed to take him as a pupil and put him through a three years' course. Mendelssohn was angry when he heard what had been suggested, Elsner, to whom Chopin wrote for advice, discountenanced it, and Kalkbrenner himself, later, came to see that his proposition had been

[1] Reproduced in Vol. III.

unwise. Chopin's pianistic style followed no rules, but it was his own, and any disturbance of it, at this late stage, would probably have brought disaster.

Chopin's success in Paris was in no way startling. Financially, for a time, he made little headway. Then the tide turned and brought him fashionable pupils. His refinement (of music and of manner) pleased. 'I move', he wrote home, 'in the highest society, among ambassadors, princes and ministers.'

A fashionable piano teacher Chopin, to the end of his days, remained. His career was the antithesis to that of Liszt, whose friendship he at this time made, and who was afterwards to write his life. Chopin shone in the Paris drawing-rooms, in the intimate cultured circle, and was almost a failure in the concert hall; he travelled hardly at all; Liszt toured the world, claiming the admiration of crowds.

Gradually Chopin's compositions began to become known, as other pianists than himself began to play them. He paid a very brief visit to London in the year of Queen Victoria's accession, but played only in private.

The intimacy with the woman novelist, 'George Sand', now calls for mention. She had heard some of Chopin's compositions and begged Liszt to introduce him. The friendship that sprang up lasted ten years and then was abruptly broken—to the sorrow of both parties. The nature of the relationship has been much discussed. It seems to have had some resemblance to that earlier friendship between Madame de Warens and Rousseau. George Sand was five years Chopin's senior and had a family of children to care for, and in the main, perhaps, her sentiments were motherly.

In the winter of 1838–9, Chopin accompanied George Sand and her children to Majorca. They fled to escape bad weather—and found worse. The peasantry were antagonistic. Everything was thoroughly uncomfortable. Chopin became really ill, and the medical attention was poor. The food was unattractive. There were many fleas.

At last Chopin, spitting blood copiously, was carried to a boat, whose cargo consisted of squalling and odorous pigs, and in gloom and suffering, reached Marseilles, where his health improved.

Here he played the organ at a funeral service—that of the famous singer, Adolph Nourrit, who at the time of Chopin's first arrival in Paris had been engaged in an effort to win for Schubert's songs the appreciation of the Parisian musical public. The piece Chopin played was Schubert's song *The Stars* ('Die Gestirne'), and, says George Sand, the great body of the congregation was disappointed, for he played it softly and plaintively and like the far-away echo of another world.

The Majorca expedition was in every way disastrous, and unfortunately it left a permanent mark upon Chopin's health.

For many summers Chopin spent three or four months at George Sand's country home at Nohant. On the whole he was happy there, though his hostess declared that he was not very well fitted for a country life, which was probably true enough. There were great gatherings of all that was brightest in Parisian literary and artistic talent, plenty of killing for those to whom a stay in the country meant that particular kind of pleasure (Chopin was not one of these), and, in the evenings, in the private theatre, wordless plays, musically interpreted in turn by Chopin and Liszt, each seated at a piano behind the scenes, one at one side of the stage and one at the other. Those must have been great evenings! In Paris George Sand and Chopin occupied houses almost adjoining, and the social, literary, and artistic gatherings were almost nightly renewed through the winter.

When Chopin was approaching his fortieth year there occurred the events that led to the Second Republic. That was a revolutionary year elsewhere than in France, and Britain was the sanctuary to which refugees of many nations were flying. London was full of distinguished foreign musicians, and Chopin, driven from his Paris circle by the disturbances, joined them. He was now in failing health. When he went to play at some great house, or visited Broadwood's to choose a piano, they had often to carry him upstairs, as they had carried the dying Weber, about twenty years earlier. He played in Manchester, in Glasgow, and in Edinburgh, and spent much time amongst aristocratic friends to whom a Scottish pupil, a Miss Stirling, introduced him. He was much fêted—too much, indeed, for he became very weary. He loved the Scottish scenery

but hated the Scottish Sabbath—'The Scots are ugly but good; their Sunday—no post, no railway, no carriages, no boats, not a dog stirs, all desolate!' Things were now getting very bad with him. He had become physically very weak and mentally very sensitive. He wrote to a friend that he felt worse every day.

At last, almost hysterically, in his boredom and weakness, he fled back to Paris, found himself to be now too much exhausted to compose, play, or teach, and as his providence had been no greater than that of artists in general, lacked means whereon to support himself even during the only too obviously brief remaining period of life. Apprised of this by one of his friends, the admiring and generous Miss Stirling sent him £1,000, of which he consented to retain only a portion. An urgent message to Poland brought one of his sisters to his bedside. George Sand, it is said, strove to see him but was refused admission by those about him, and thus there did not take place the reconciliation which would probably have given both parties comfort.

Two days before Chopin's death (in October 1849) he saw standing at the foot of the bed one of his countrywomen, the Countess Potocka. He begged her to sing, the piano was brought to the door of the room, and she sang pieces by Stradella and Marcello. As she ended it was thought that Chopin was passing away, and all present dropped on their knees. But the dying man lingered two days longer. His favourite pupil, Gutmann, was with him when the end arrived; Chopin bent to kiss his hand and died in this act of appreciation and gratitude.

There was a great service at the Madeleine, with a congregation of 4,000 and the chorus and orchestra of the Paris Conservatoire, who performed Mozart's Requiem. Chopin's own Funeral March was played as the cortège entered, and two of his Preludes on the organ later. Then they carried him to Père-Lachaise, where, in compliance with his own request, he was to be buried next to his friend, whose music he much loved, the Italian opera composer, Bellini. Meyerbeer, the painter Delacroix, his favourite pupil, Gutmann, and many of his own exiled compatriots made up the funeral procession.

The 'earth to earth' was Polish—for at last was opened the silver casket given him on that memorable day when, as a young man of

twenty, he set out to carve a career for himself, and its contents were scattered over his coffin.

Chopin's heart, however, was not buried in France. It was sent back to Poland, and there it still rests, in a church in Warsaw.

Chopin's was not a life of happiness. We have, perhaps, got a good deal more pleasure out of it than he did.

In Chopin's music French refinement, grace, and elegance tend at the extreme towards effeminacy, and even morbidity. Wonderful as is his genius when the Frenchman is uppermost, it attains, perhaps, even higher flights when the Pole in him bursts forth. Then, indeed, he writes music unsurpassed in its tremendous fire, strength, and even ferocity. Sometimes, too, there are in his music echoes of the tragedies of Poland—those tragedies whose gloom has, happily, lately somewhat lifted.

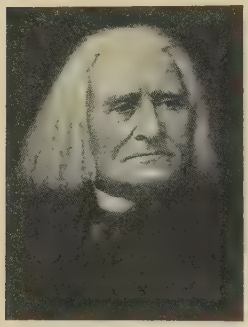
As a composer for the Piano, Chopin stands among the greatest of innovators. Being himself a most accomplished pianist he had a special gift for writing music well moulded to the keyboard and well adapted to the ten fingers and (very important) to the two feet. The element of crudity which is sometimes exhibited by the pianist-composer was entirely lacking in him; he brought extraordinary subtlety into Piano Music and Piano Playing, and, instead of mere showy brilliance, has given us the most delicate, lace-like elaborations.

Chopin wrote practically nothing of importance apart from Piano Solos.

LISZT

Liszt was a Hungarian—of a sort. As Chopin was a patriotic Pole who left his country in youth and never set foot in it again, so Liszt was a loyal Hungarian who never learnt his country's language. His public career was considered an honour to Hungary, and when he was still under thirty he was presented by the citizens of Budapest with a sword of honour, which henceforward figured in caricatures as did his contemporary Gladstone's collar. He composed Hungarian Rhapsodies based upon national songs, he wrote a big book upon the music of the Hungarian Gipsies, and towards the end of his life

he was appointed by the Hungarian Government Director of an Academy of Music, apparently brought into existence so that his presence in the Capital might be claimed for a month or two of every year. Yet despite all these outward signs, Liszt was not a Hungarian but a cosmopolitan—of all composers perhaps the most cosmopolitan who ever lived. He was resident in turn for long periods in France, Germany, and Italy, a great part of his life was spent in a post-chaise hurrying from one capital of Europe to another, and a good portion of his output as a composer was based upon works of French or German literature.



Liszt.

In the account of the life of Haydn in the first volume of this work is a mention of his thirty-years' employer, Prince Anton Esterhazy. When Prince Anton died, his successor, Prince Nicholas, disbanded the orchestra and released Haydn on a pension. This Prince Nicholas had in his service, as a steward, one Adam Liszt, a very keen musical amateur. And in 1811 (two years after the death of Haydn, whom he probably knew) this steward had born to him a son, Franz, who early manifested the most surprising musical talent.

1811 was 'the year of the great comet': all the biographies mention this, sometimes saying that it was Halley's comet, in which they are surely wrong; but at any rate there was that year a big blaze in the heavens, and the poetical suggestion of the biographers is that Franz Liszt was its reflection upon earth. The place of birth was Raiding (or, in the Magyar tongue, Dobr'jan).

The boy's first teacher was his father, but later he had some lessons in Vienna—in piano from Czerny, and in composition from the seventy-year-old Salieri, the friend of Haydn and Beethoven, the teacher of Schubert, and the enemy of Mozart (whom legend for long charged him with having murdered!).

On performing in public, in Vienna, at the age of eleven, Liszt was approached by Beethoven, who greeted him with a kiss (a great compliment, no doubt, but after all Beethoven was now all but stone

deaf, so apparently he must have judged the playing with his eyes).

At the same period Liszt made the acquaintance of Schubert. As in later years Liszt was the encouraging friend of many composers of our own time and of a number of pianists who are (1928) still before the public, this makes him a notable link between present and past. It is worth mentioning that whilst he was in Vienna, the twelve-year-old boy was a contributor to the Variations Diabelli published.[1]

From Vienna, father and son went to Paris. Here Society, Literature, and Art fêted the boy, 'le petit Litz', as he was called.

After leaving Czerny, at twelve, he never had another piano lesson in his life, but in Paris he continued the study of composition with the opera-composer, Paër, and the contrapuntist Reicha (see page 115).

He composed an Opera, *Don Sancho*, the only one he ever did compose, and it was duly performed. London and Manchester were then visited, and 'the little Litz' (as we then called him) was fairly launched on the career of virtuoso.

At fifteen he wanted to leave the concert room for the church, but his father dissuaded him. Nearly forty years later, as we shall see, he found a way of keeping one foot in each.

During this early Paris period Liszt was much in touch not only with the literary romanticists (Hugo, Lamartine, Sainte-Beuve, George Sand, and others) and the painter romanticists (Delacroix and others) but also with what we may, without any intended disrespect, call 'the religious romanticists'. Saint-Simon, with his early expression of a form of what was later to be called 'Christian Socialism', attracted him, and he enjoyed the friendship of Lamennais, the opponent of the doctrine later defined as 'Art for Art's sake' and the advocate of Art as a means of attaining moral perfection.

[1] The idea of this publication was to have fifty composers do one variation apiece on a waltz air by the composer-publisher, Diabelli. If Lenz is correct, Diabelli called on Beethoven with thirty-two of the Variations, whereupon Beethoven wrote thirty-three of his own. These then constituted a set in themselves, and became the First Book, and are what we now hear to-day. Schubert, Czerny, Hummel, Kalkbrenner, and others of the greatest composers of the time appeared in the Second Book, and so did young Liszt.

The death of Liszt's father had now left the youth to develop on his own lines. He brought his mother to Paris, and as a very fashionable piano teacher, and a widely travelling piano virtuoso, easily supported her and himself. Liszt's virtuoso career may be said to have extended to about his thirty-fifth year. It took him everywhere in Europe and brought him perhaps more fame and money than any musician had ever previously earned. The ladies, in particular, flocked to his 'recitals'. He was, by the way, the first musical performer to use this term, and, indeed, probably the first pianist to give 'one man shows', and he was also the first pianist to place himself in full view of the audience, the usual position previously being either with the back to the audience or with the instrument between player and audience. So fervid was feminine admiration that if he dropped his handkerchief it was torn to pieces, as 'souvenirs', and Tolstoi tells somewhere of one lady admirer who removed, framed, and hung on her wall that portion of a chair that had received his sacred pressure.

This brings us to a consideration (as briefly as fair statement will allow) of woman's more direct influences on Liszt's mind and art. Woman figured largely in the Romantic thought of the age, and Liszt had probably as many loves as Byron or Berlioz and nearly as many as Goethe.

Omitting all minor and short-lived amours, there are three that must be mentioned. In early days, teaching music in Paris, the youth fell deeply in love with and was equally beloved by the daughter of a Minister of State, Caroline St. Cricq. The father saw to it that the lovers were parted—yet in heart they never were, for when Liszt was thirty-three they had at last another tender meeting, whilst when he came to make his will, over a quarter of a century later, he left his Caroline a ring. At that youthful parting they had promised to recall each other at the hour of the Angelus, daily for the rest of their lives, and Liszt asserted that he, at least, kept the promise. These little details have more than a mere gossip value; they are typical of the sentimental expansion of the Romantic period. (Compare, by the way, the return of Berlioz' poor wandering heart to its first love—page 90.)

For about ten years (1834 to 1844, i. e. from about his twenty-

third to his thirty-third year) Liszt was in close intimacy with the Countess of Agoult (later, under the name of 'Daniel Stern', to be known as a romantic novelist). They lived together romantically in Switzerland and elsewhere, and of their three children one later married a pupil of Liszt, the great pianist-conductor von Bülow, and then left him for another friend of Liszt, Richard Wagner. Cosima Wagner, the helper and inspirer of Wagner and, until old age overtook her, the 'grande dame' of Bayreuth, was, then, Liszt's daughter.[1]

The friendship with the Princess Sayn-Wittgenstein followed. They settled at Weimar, where Liszt was appointed by the reigning Duke as his musical director. The glories of Weimar's Schiller-Goethe period were revived. On a salary of about £200 a year (but salaries were nothing to him; he could always make money galore by the clever pot-boiling pianoforte 'transcriptions' that he was now lavishly pouring out), Liszt made Weimar the Mecca of musicians. Wagner's *Tannhäuser* had its first performance there (1849), so had *Lohengrin* (1850). Liszt's orchestra, more than any other orchestra in Europe, gave the compositions of Berlioz their chance of becoming known.

Liszt and the Princess took their love seriously. In its early days he had written to her, 'Without your love I wish for neither earth nor heaven. Let us love one another, my only and glorious well-belovèd in God and in our Lord Jesus Christ, and let men never try to separate those whom God has joined for eternity.' The union had, at any rate, the basis of community of mind. The Princess urged Liszt to creative effort. She wrote for him his books (or great parts of them); she pressed him to push forward with his own composition, despite its comparatively languid reception by the public, who to the end insisted, to Liszt's chagrin and hers, that he was a pianist and not a composer (how few men can earn two reputations!). She took an interest in his friends, and it is said that the term popularly applied to Wagner's music, 'The Music of the Future', was of her coining.[2]

[1] She is still living (1928).

[2] Lina Ramann, one of the most important of Liszt's biographers, relates this incident. Brendel (a successor of Schumann as editor of the *Neue Zeitschrift für Musik*) said *Lohengrin* was too advanced for the public of that day. 'Then', cried the Princess, 'let us call it Music of

The Prince of Sayn-Wittgenstein being still alive, the Princess and the Composer could not marry. In 1861, when the connexion had already lasted about fourteen years, the Princess went to Rome to appeal to the Pope. There she stayed awaiting her answer, smoking strong cigars and writing religious books by candle light in a shuttered room with fourteen busts of Liszt around her (this was indeed 'the Romantic period'!). At last annulment of the marriage was definitely promised. The day was fixed, Liszt hurried to Rome. On the evening before the expected event the Pope called for the documents and perused them afresh. The marriage was forbidden!

That happened in 1861. In 1864 the Prince died and all obstacles were removed. But the Princess and her long-standing lover, though until death came they took the tenderest interest in one another's affairs, were never joined in matrimony, and in 1865, aged fifty-four, Liszt took the tonsure and minor orders (doorkeeper, reader exorcist, acolyte; he could not say mass or hear confession, and he was free to abandon the orders if he wished) and henceforth was known to the world as 'the Abbé Liszt'.[1]

After these events the Princess lived on at Rome, frequently visited by her old friend, who now made a travelling triangle of Rome, Weimar, and Budapest (see reference earlier to the Academy of Music at the last place). At Rome Liszt was led to expect that the music of St. Peter's would be put under his control, but it never was. When in 1870 the fight over Infallibility came on, the Princess and Liszt took opposing views, but even this did not bring a complete cleavage. The Princess was much occupied with a work

the Future'. Liszt and von Bülow caught up the phrase and it became the catchword title for the compositions of what people then knew as 'the Weimar School', i.e. the compositions of both Wagner and Liszt. In 1851 Wagner gave the term a sort of confirmation by publishing his essay *The Art-Work of the Future* ('Das Kunstwerk der Zukunft').

[1] 'Liszt, Liszt, O Liszt', sang Mr. Punch in 1886, when the Composer, after a very long absence, visited London, and to the popular tune of the time, 'Let us be happy together', welcomed the guest with a stanza 'Let us be Abbé, together'. It is a 'good forty year', he added, 'since Liszt was in London, and Erard and Broadwood say it will be a good pianoforte year now he has returned'.

in over twenty volumes on *The Inward Causes of the Outward Weakness of the Church*: it never appeared until 1912, when she had been a quarter of a century dead, and then (O Pathos!) the *magnum opus* of this pious churchwoman was at once entered upon the Index Expurgatorius!

Liszt's creative powers also were in these later years directed into Christian channels. He threw himself with ardour into religious composition. His two oratorios, *St. Elizabeth* and *Christus*, and such Piano pieces as *St. Francis of Assisi preaching to the Birds* and *St. Francis of Paola walking on the Waves*, represent this phase of his psychological experience.

Liszt's death took place in 1886 at Bayreuth, and there is his last resting-place. The last music he heard was a fine performance of his son-in-law's *Tristan*.

Summarizing Liszt's main activities we have—

To about his thirtieth year—Virtuoso Pianist, and Composer of showy 'Piano Transcriptions'.

Thence to his fiftieth year—At Weimar; Conductor, and Composer of very seriously intended music, some of it very novel in design.

Thence to his death in his seventy-sixth year—Headquarters at Rome, with teaching and other activities at Weimar and Budapest. Composer of religious music.

As a Composer, Liszt has been very variously judged. Some rank him high—necessarily, for this purpose, disregarding a large mass of pieces expressive either of love of technical display or of shallow sentimentality, and dwelling upon the larger and more serious works, and especially the many Symphonic Poems (see page 39). Of the works bearing Liszt's name there are about 1,300, of which about 400 are original and the rest 'arrangements' or 'transcriptions'.

On one point there can be no question—Liszt's abundant influence upon other composers. Traces of the effect of his style and his innovations are easily seen in the works of contemporaries and followers as widely differing as Wagner and Raff, Tchaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakof, Borodin, Saint-Saëns, Scriabin, and Strauss.

As a Pianist, Liszt was undoubtedly supreme, and this not only in

the brilliant style of which he was a recognized exponent. Wagner, that greatest of all Beethoven enthusiasts, said, 'Whoever hears Liszt play Beethoven's Sonatas must realize that what he is experiencing is not mere reproduction but actual creative effort'.

Incidentally, Liszt as Piano Virtuoso was one of the first resolutely to break down the tradition of the social inferiority of the artist. For a long time he could not return to Russia because of the well-known incident of his rebuke of the Czar.[1] In passing it may be suggested that the *prima donna* airs of some pianists to-day may be partly due to a perversion of the Lisztian conception of artistic dignity, spread abroad by Liszt's innumerable pupils, and encouraged by their agents.

Liszt's teaching at Weimar was entirely gratuitous. Every would-be virtuoso of the sixties, seventies, and eighties gravitated there, and if he or she showed capabilities, was accepted as a member of the Liszt pupil-circle, which played for the great master's criticism every week-day afternoon and on Sundays gave a sort of semi-public concert. Whether either the Liszt teaching centre at Weimar or the later Leschetiszky teaching centre at Vienna has made a really valuable contribution to art the present writer (simply from his personal experience of the playing of Liszt and Leschetiszky pupils) takes leave to doubt. If Chopin's pupils had only made their mark (which, curiously, they none of them did), there might have been a leaven of more delicate artistic sensibility and sensitiveness to tone qualities introduced into public pianism. At the present moment (1928) it would be easy to find fifty young players, of no great name, who give more genuinely musical pleasure than any fifty survivors of the Liszt and Leschetiszky régimes.

Liszt's generosity of nature knew no bounds. He gave recitals for every good cause. When the public subscription for the Beethoven monument stopped, shockingly, at about 500 marks, Liszt offered to raise, by recitals, the other 50,000 marks required, and did so. In time of pestilence, flood, or famine, Liszt played

[1] The Czar engaging in conversation, Liszt stopped playing, and when the Czar said, 'Pray continue, Mr. Liszt', or words to that effect, Liszt replied, 'When your Majesty speaks, all others should be silent'. Anecdotes of this sort are numerous.

money out of the pockets of well-to-do Europe into those of suffering Europe. His own pocket was always open. During his lifetime he probably gave away more money than he spent on himself. His was 'a heart of gold' and his fingers were creators of the same commodity.

And in advice and encouragement Liszt was just as generous. His own compositions were relative failures, yet he fought not for these, but for those of Wagner, Berlioz, and others. He helped to make the value of their work known in three distinct ways—by writing about it, by transcribing it for piano, and by performing it at Weimar and at the numerous festivals he was everywhere called upon to conduct. He was the friend and encourager of the rising Russian School, first of Glinka and then of Borodin and others. He applauded the Bohemian, Smetana. The young Brahms found his way to Weimar and so did the young Grieg, and each was enheartened by his reception.

It seems impossible to judge Liszt by any common-sense criterion. He defies classification. *Was he a great composer?* He wrote reams of trumpery stuff and yet his compositions (apart from his personal encouragement) inspired or influenced half the work of the composers of the day, including many whom we must rate much more highly than we do him. *Was he a good Christian?* He accepted Christian ideals, and clothed the naked, fed the hungry, and forgave his enemies; his sex morality was very questionable, yet all the time he was filled with Christian devotion.

And so on! The Lisztian mind is a bundle of antinomies. But there was never anything petty about him. He was, for good and for ill, a daring virtuoso both in Art and in Life.

WAGNER

Wagner's father was a minor municipal official at Leipzig. He died in 1813 when the child was a few months old. The mother then married an actor-painter, named Geyer, and the family removed to Dresden, where Geyer had a theatrical position. Geyer died a few years later, and a return to Leipzig was then made.[1]

[1] There is a point in dispute as to the paternity of Wagner, which cannot be discussed here.

At Dresden the boy had seen and admired Weber, then in office as conductor of the German Opera. Beethoven and Weber were to be the two great musical influences in his life—the composer who had carried instrumental music to a point where, by its vivid presentation of emotion and its strong emotional contrasts, it approached a state of tonal drama, and the first great German Romantic composer for the stage.

Wagner.

The thoughts of Wagner's circle were much engrossed in music and in affairs of the stage. His father had been, as an amateur, devoted to music and the theatre; his stepfather had, of course, the same interests; his brother Albert, fourteen years his senior, enjoyed a successful career as an actor, singer, and stage manager; his sister Johanna Rosalie, ten years his senior, won distinction as an actress; his sister, Clara Wilhelmine, was a singer; his cousin, Johanna, fifteen years his senior, won a very high place as an opera singer and (when her voice left her for a period) as an actress in the spoken drama. From the first Richard Wagner shared the family leaning, as a child reading Shakespeare (then attaining that popularity in Germany that he has ever since retained—see pages 102-3), and writing plays. He also revelled in the romantic E. T. A. Hoffmann, the inspirer of his contemporary, Schumann.

Wagner's formal education was a classical one. Its last stages were carried out at the Thomas School, Leipzig, of which Bach, eighty years before, had been Cantor, and at the University of Leipzig.

The attraction Wagner always felt for Beethoven has already been mentioned. At the famous Gewandhaus Concerts in Leipzig he heard the Symphonies. At seventeen he arranged the Ninth Symphony for piano and tried to get a publisher for it. At this age he also wrote an Overture, which was duly performed—to a derisive audience, for it was, by his own subsequent description, a foolish work.

Up to this point Wagner's musical studies had been desultory and unsystematic. He now entered a six months' period of study with

Weinlig, the Cantor of the Thomas School, applying himself assiduously and successfully, under the direction of one of whom he ever after spoke gratefully as a very wise master, to the task of acquiring the technique of composition.

At nineteen he wrote a Symphony, which was performed at one of the Gewandhaus concerts.

Soon after this he was appointed chorus master at the opera house at Würzburg, where his eldest brother was then employed as a singer. A series of short-lived opera house engagements followed—at twenty-one Conductor at Magdeburg, at twenty-three Conductor at Königsberg, at twenty-four, Conductor at Riga. Thus was gained a varied experience. Two operas were composed and a third begun during this period, of which one was never performed, *The Fairies* ('Die Feen'), the second was performed and quickly dropped, *Forbidden Love* ('Das Liebesverbot'), and the last is still sometimes to be heard in the opera houses of Europe, *Rienzi* (founded on Bulwer Lytton's novel). Meantime Wagner had married one of his opera singers, Minna Planer.

In 1839, aged twenty-six, the conductor-composer resolved to go to Paris, and to try if it was possible to get the Opera on which he was working, his glittering, Meyerbeer-influenced *Rienzi*, staged there. Accumulated debt and the surveillance of the Russian police made departure a problem, but by adventurous means and the exercise of bribery, the pair got at last aboard an English boat and set sail. Storms and legends of the sea supplied inspiration for his next opera, *The Flying Dutchman*.

Eight days were spent in London, and then the crossing was made to Boulogne. Meyerbeer was staying there, and Wagner sought him out and obtained from him introductions which he expected to find useful in Paris.

Paris, however, was a bitter disappointment. Wagner was there two and a half years, and never got his opera performed: sometimes the couple nearly starved. Wagner tried to get a place as chorus singer in a theatre and failed for lack of voice. He corrected proofs and made operatic cornet 'arrangements' and piano 'arrangements' for publication, wrote articles on music for the press, heard a lot of Beethoven, whom Habeneck was then popularizing at the Conserva-

toire concerts, wrote some songs and *The Flying Dutchman*, and had one small work performed, an overture—*Columbus*.

That is the sum of Wagner's Paris experiences at this period, which ended happily with a call to Dresden, where it had been resolved to perform *Rienzi*. It was in 1842 that the performance took place, when Wagner was nearing thirty. It took nearly six hours to get through the piece, and next morning Wagner sat down to contrive 'cuts'. But the 'cuts' he indicated were not used, for the singers said the music was 'too heavenly'. Eventually the opera was tried as a two-evening work. Wagner was always long-winded.

The Composer now began to become known. Articles about him began to appear in the papers. The first big corner was turned.

Next year (1843, aged thirty) Wagner had the triumph of seeing his *Flying Dutchman* on the same Dresden boards. Further (and this was a great step) he received the appointment of Conductor of the Dresden Royal Opera, succeeding Morlacchi, who having plagued his colleague Weber, twenty years before (see page 83), now helped Wagner by an opportune death.[1] It is interesting to recall that Wagner's first official duty was to help Berlioz, then visiting Dresden as a part of a long and triumphal German tour, with rehearsals for his concerts.

For seven years Wagner was busy at Dresden directing performances of all manner of operas, reviving Gluck, giving careful performances to the Beethoven symphonies, trying to improve Church Music by introducing Palestrina (see page 106 for Mendelssohn's similar attempt at Düsseldorf), and cultivating male-voice choral music. He also conducted the music and made an oration on the occasion of the translation of Weber's remains from London to Dresden (see page 85).

In 1844 *Tannhäuser* was completed and in 1845 performed—with

[1] In Weber's day the Italian and German Operas were separate royal establishments; hence the rivalry. Now, apparently, they were merged. Dresden for long had only an Italian opera, being recalcitrant to the growing national influence. It was only in 1815 that the German opera was established there. Later, as we have seen, Dresden struck a shrewd blow for the national operatic movement by giving the greatest of all German opera composers his first real chance.

only fair success, yet it was pretty widely taken up in different parts of Germany. The cloven hoof of modernity was supposed to show itself plainly in this work, and it was much criticized (see Schumann's opinion, pages 99–100).

The Royal Library at Dresden afforded opportunity for the study of the national literature. From *Tannhäuser* onwards all Wagner's work was based on native legend. In particular, at this time Wagner began to work on the Nibelung myth, not to finish his task until twenty-six years later.

In 1848 came political disturbances in many parts of Europe. Everywhere fetters were snapping, and when the Dresden risings began, Wagner's sympathies, royal official though he was, were with the revolutionaries. He took more or less part in the fighting and then had to fly—first to the sympathetic Liszt at Weimar (Liszt, who always helped any worthy musician, and who was at this time engaged in rehearsing *Tannhäuser*), then to Paris, and finally to Zurich.

At Zurich Wagner remained settled for about eight years. Von Bülow was conductor there, and towards the end of this period married Cosima, Liszt's daughter. Wagner was much helped by a wealthy man, Wesendonck, who built him a house on his estate, and in the end the composer had to clear out because he was attempting to tamper with the affections of his patron's wife. He worked hard at the production of much literature (*Opera and Drama*, &c.), he came under the influence of Schopenhauer's philosophy, which left more or less mark henceforth on the text of every one of his works,[1]

[1] All that we see about us is merely 'idea'. Only 'will' has actual existence. Suffering is the stimulus of 'will', and only when the 'will to live' is abandoned does 'will' reach its full development.—This central thought of Schopenhauer's system finds its reflection in parts of *The Ring*, *Tristan*, and *Parsifal*. Schopenhauer's *The World as Will and Idea* was published when Wagner was a child of six, but never gained recognition until he was well into the forties. Then it swept through philosophical circles. In 1854 Wagner sent to Schopenhauer a copy of the 'book' of *The Ring* as a token of gratitude and reverence. Many of Wagner's keenest musical admirers must wish that their hero had never become an amateur philosopher. They would in that case have been spared some of Wotan's melancholy long-windedness—to mention only one advantage.

he completed and privately published the immense libretto for his *Nibelungs' Ring* Cycle, and he finished the music for the first and second dramas of the Cycle, *Rhinegold* and *The Valkyrie*, and made great headway with *Tristan*. Wagner's *Lohengrin* was performed by Liszt at Weimar in 1850. He himself could not be present, being under sentence of banishment from Germany. This first performance of *Lohengrin* was really the decisive turning-point in the whole Wagner movement. He visited England (1855) and conducted a season of the Philharmonic Society's Concerts (Berlioz was also there; see page 93).

The summary above of work done at Zurich gives a hint as to the rapid development Wagner's genius was undergoing at this very fruitful period. The tabular statement subjoined will show the order of composition of different works, and, especially, the long period of gestation and of growth of some of them, especially, as stated above, *The Ring*.

In 1859 came an often related scandal—the hostile reception of *Tannhäuser* in Paris. After laborious efforts Wagner had managed to get a royal command for a performance of this work. It was long rehearsed, and great expense was lavished on the production. But the position of the Ballet, early in the work, was an offence to late diners. It was an offence, too, to the *corps de ballet* who wanted to be seen by the same late diners. The ballet girls, then, worked up feeling amongst their gentlemen friends, gilded youth as represented by the Jockey Club was mobilized, and hissing and whistling killed the performance. Wagner, who was, as ever, in need of money, had relied upon having heavy profits from these performances, and instead gained only about £30, which went a very trifling distance towards the liquidation of his ever-accumulating debts, which now stood at a high figure.

In 1861, aged forty-eight, Wagner received notice that his sentence of banishment from Germany was revoked. About this time he separated from his wife, with whom he had, on the whole, lived happily, and took instead von Bülow's wife, Cosima (Liszt's daughter). After his wife's death in 1866, and when at last Bülow divorced Cosima (1870), Wagner was able to contract a legal marriage with Cosima.

A worry of this period of the early sixties was the refusal by every opera house of *Tristan and Isolda*. Vienna gave it seventy-seven rehearsals and then dropped it. It had been completed in 1859 and was first performed in 1865—by von Bülow, at Munich.

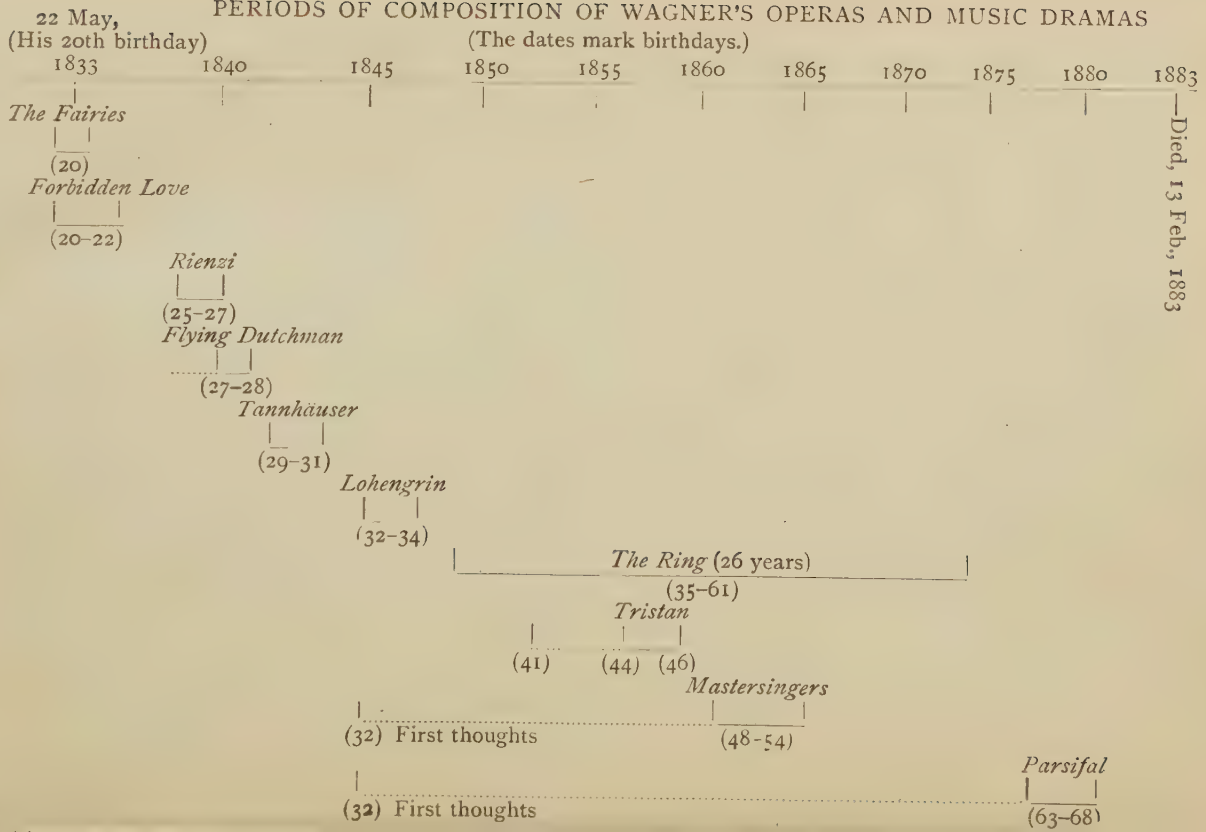
This mention of Munich as a centre of Wagner propaganda calls for the brief relation of a romantic episode in Wagner's life, and one of great importance by its influence on his life's work. How did the Munich connexion begin? Head over ears in debt, and dispirited, Wagner found sudden salvation. A high official of the King of Bavaria sought him out when he was travelling and had reached Stuttgart, and summoned him to the King's side, at Munich. The King, a lad of eighteen, a lover of Wagner's idol, Beethoven, and an admirer of Wagner's opera, *Lohengrin*, had read the published libretto of the as yet only half-composed *Ring*, which, as Wagner had come to believe (such were his difficulties), would remain to the end only half-composed. 'Come here and finish your great work', said the King, and offered the Composer a home and a pension.

Wagner's actual stay in Munich was not long (May 1864 to December 1865), for the King's favouritism and the counsel he took with Wagner upon political matters led to the enmity of the men of state, who insisted upon his banishment from the capital. But the connexion between the King and Wagner still continued, more or less openly, and one result is still seen in the existence upon Bavarian soil of the great Festival Theatre—at Bayreuth.

The bringing into existence of this, however, was about seven or eight years ahead, and in the meantime Wagner and his future second wife were living at Lucerne, in the Villa Triebschen. *The Mastersingers of Nuremberg*, first sketched twenty-two years before, was finished at Lucerne in 1867.

The friendship with Nietzsche, then a young Professor of Classical Philology at the University of Basle, began at this period (1868), Nietzsche upon whose loyalty he was to impose many burdens, and who was, by pen and voice, to be for long his greatest non-musician supporter, and at last, disillusioned, to cut adrift from him.[1]

[1] Man, as at present existing, is a bundle of effeminate childishnesses. We should strive towards the production of the superman—inflexible will, infinite endurance, determination to enjoy. That is a central thought in


PERIODS OF COMPOSITION OF WAGNER'S OPERAS AND MUSIC DRAMAS
22 May,
(His 20th birthday)
(The dates mark birthdays.)
1833
1840
1845
1850
1855
1860
1865
1870
1875
1880
1883
—Died, 13 Feb., 1883
The Fairies
(20)
Forbidden Love
(20–22)
Rienzi
(25–27)
Flying Dutchman
(27–28)
Tannhäuser
(29–31)
Lohengrin
(32–34)
The Ring (26 years)
(35–61)
Tristan
(41)
(44)
(46)
Mastersingers
(32) First thoughts
(48–54)
Parsifal
(32) First thoughts
(63–68)

The foundation stone of the Bayreuth theatre was laid in 1872, when Wagner was in his sixtieth year. The first performance took place there in 1876, when Richter, Wagner's faithful friend and helper, conducted the *Ring*, now, at last, completed. Money was lost, and Wagner and Richter came to England, with the fond idea of regaining it by a series of concerts at the Albert Hall. These, however, brought in only a few hundreds of pounds, a drop in the bucket. British admirers actually began to subscribe towards the liquidation of the Bayreuth deficit, but proceeds from performances at Munich came, and the sums subscribed by the British Wagnerian circle were returned to them with a grateful letter from Wagner.

It was in 1877, when Wagner was sixty-four, that the London expedition took place, and at this period the Composer was engaged on his last work, *Parsifal.* It was to be a 'Sacred Festival Drama', with its performances strictly confined to Bayreuth. It had its first performance in 1882, Levi conducting. Next year, at Venice, Wagner died.

Three years later, Wagner's patron, 'The Mad King of Bavaria', drowned himself, and also Wagner's early generous helper, and later father-in-law, Liszt, died. Von Bülow died in 1894, Richter lived until 1916. Then there had passed away all of Wagner's most loyal and effective supporters but one. At the date of the writing of this book there still lives Cosima Wagner, aged ninety; she has already survived her husband by over forty years, and like that other long-surviving widow of a genius contemporary with Wagner, Clara Schumann, who survived Robert by forty years, has devoted herself to the keeping green of the memory of what her husband accomplished for the world.

Wagner's Music Dramas have already been briefly discussed (pages 62 to 74). He sketched out or actually wrote the libretti of a good many stage works he never set. In his early twenties, he dramatized a novel by König, as *The Exalted Bride* ('Die Höhe Braut'), and sent it, in sketch form, to Scribe, then, and for long after, the most popular playwright in France, hoping that he would com-

the Nietzschean system, and one congenial to Wagner, and (as later events showed) only too congenial to the German nation as it was at that time developing.

plete the work as a finished libretto, and so open to the composer a path to the Paris stage. As Scribe ignored the overtures, Wagner finished the libretto himself, and a few years after it was set by one Kittl (as *Bianca and Giuseppa*), and, performed in Prague, had a good deal of success.

He wrote the libretto of a Four-Act Comic Opera, on an *Arabian Nights* subject, *The Happy Bear Family, or Man's Cunning greater than Woman's*, but never set it to music. He sketched a Three-Act Opera, *The Mines of Falun*, and completed the libretto of a Five-Act one, *The Saracen Woman*; he sketched a Music Drama *Jesus of Nazareth*, and others, *Frederick Barbarossa* and *The Victors*; he completed in a preliminary prose version *Wieland the Smith*, and offered it to Liszt. The range of subjects in this list (all the way from the *Arabian Nights* to the New Testament) is rather remarkable.

Apart altogether from stage works Wagner's literary activities were very extended. His prose works fill ten considerable volumes. They include fiction (the novelettes *A Pilgrimage to Beethoven*, &c.), critical sketches (on works of Weber, Halévy, Beethoven, Spontini, Gluck, Liszt, Auber, and others), discussion (*The State of Religion, Religion and Art, Judaism and Music, German Art and German Politics*, &c.), technical treatises (*On Conducting*), and, of course, an enormous treatment of his own aims and methods (*The Art Work of the Future, Opera and Drama*, and so forth). Not included in the collected edition is the great Autobiography, *My Life*, begun in his middle fifties (1869), privately printed (very few copies), and only made known to the public when Wagner had been dead nearly thirty years (1911); this work is revealing as to its author's character —not least in the suppressions and distortions which, were no other source of information available, would in many cases convey a very misleading impression. What Wagner here admits without disguise, and what he carefully glosses over, show the possession of a curiously intermittent sense of shame. Wagner was no saint, he was egoistic and egotistic, unself-controlled in matters of sex, wildly reckless in expenditure, shameless in borrowing and careless in repayment. His life stands justified, not as an example to the young (except, decidedly, in the matter of courage and perseverance), but by the musical legacy he left behind him.

BRAHMS

No apology shall be offered for placing the notice of Brahms amongst the notices of the Romantics—no apology, but a word, perhaps, of explanation. The work of Brahms is sometimes spoken of as a return to the Classics, and its composer as a classical composer born out of due time. Yet open a composition of his anywhere and play a phrase at random and you feel at once that you are in the presence of a most genuine Romantic.

Brahms.

The classical claims of Brahms are indeed based not upon an absence of romantic feeling but upon the presence of a feeling for form and proportion that was very often to seek in the other Romantics. Brahms showed himself a master of the Sonata and the Symphony. They, too, or some of them, wrote Sonatas and Symphonies, but when they did so paid less attention to the form and proportion of their work than to its romantic contents. They excelled in short romantic piano pieces and in long 'programmatic' Tone Poems rather than in the Sonata form and style. Brahms also wrote short romantic piano pieces, but he wrote no Tone Poems and no Programme Music, instead of these reverting to the classical Concerto and Symphony and in them attaining the balance and poise we call 'classic' combined with that type of emotional expression we call 'romantic'.

On the one side Brahms was the continuator of Beethoven, so much so that von Bülow called Brahms' first Symphony Beethoven's Tenth; on the other he was the continuator of Schumann, so much so that Schumann in his last years hailed him as a son or brother, and his widow remained to her death in closest and almost motherly relations with him, as with the musician who of all musicians living best understood her husband's work and best gathered its influences into his own.

The lives of Liszt and Berlioz show the Romantic spirit at its least

controlled, that of Brahms, seen in contrast, seems to show an almost Puritan severity. Look at romance on the side of sex; consider the long lists of women loved by Liszt, and Berlioz, and Wagner, the quiet yet intense domestic love of Schumann, and the bachelor solitariness of Brahms, who feared to marry and ran away from the only woman we know him to have been in danger of loving, lest with that danger should have been bound up the other one of neglect of his art. The turbulence and restlessness of Liszt and Berlioz, the brooding spirit of Schumann, the refined drawing-room life of Chopin and the quiet retirement of Brahms are reflected in their music.

Brahms was the son of a poor, plodding double-bass player, who, with effort, had attained a modest footing in theatre orchestras of Hamburg. There the composer was born in 1833.

Early progress in piano-playing enabled the boy to assist his family by performing in cafés and dancing halls—with a volume of poetry or history propped up before him, for at this time, as throughout his life, he was a great reader, and it is of interest to know that two of his favourite boyhood authors were those who had previously enthralled and inspired also Robert Schumann—Jean Paul Richter, and Hoffmann (see pages 32 and 97).

Some excellent musical training was given him by the then famous theorist and beloved pupil of Schumann, Marxsen of the neighbouring town of Altona. At his hands the boy received a thorough grounding in the classics of music.

At twenty, Brahms set off on a concert tour with the Jew-Hungarian fiddler, Remenyi. There were adventures. At Göttingen the piano was a semitone too low, and Brahms transposed the piano part of Beethoven's Kreutzer Sonata, playing it from memory. Joachim was in the audience, realized the ability of the youth (who was, he said, the most considerable musician of his age he had ever met), and promised him an introduction to Schumann.[1]

[1] E. W. points out that this incident, related as above in Hadow's *Studies in Modern Music* and possibly elsewhere, is differently related by various authorities. May says Celle, not Göttingen, and the Beethoven Sonata in C minor, not the 'Kreutzer'. Joachim himself (see May i. 106) speaks of the first meeting as being at Hanover, at his own lodgings, a little while later.

At Hanover a worse trouble than a low-pitch piano presented itself. Remenyi, a fiddler of the adventurous travelling type, like Paganini and Ole Bull, had been mixed up with politics. Four years before, in that revolutionary period later alluded to (page 165) he had fought for his native country against Austria and had even been adjutant to General Görgei, the successor of Kossuth as Dictator. Görgei was now serving a twenty-years' term of imprisonment, and his former adjutant was not looked upon favourably by the representatives of constitutional authority. Brahms and Remenyi were expelled from the city and territory.

They went to Weimar, where Liszt reigned. Liszt welcomed them, and such of Brahms' work as he performed there awakened his enthusiasm. Brahms found himself enrolled amongst the young hopefuls of Liszt's 'New German' party, a position from which he definitely seceded a few years later (1860), when with Joachim and two others he signed a bold manifesto against 'the so-called Music of the Future'.

Joachim was now at Göttingen, and Brahms journeyed there to claim the promised letter to Schumann. He got it and then, almost penniless, continued his journey on foot to Düsseldorf, where Schumann was now situated.

Schumann's enthusiasm was immediate. He wrote the now historic article (the counterpart of his earlier article on Chopin ; see page 97), secured Brahms a hearing at Leipzig, and gave him his friendship and loving support. Thenceforward, though the road was an uphill one, it ran straight.

From his twenty-first to his twenty-fifth years Brahms held a congenial post as conductor at the court of Lippe-Detmold. His duties were light and only extended over a short portion of the year. He had leisure to work at composition and opportunity of travel and concert-giving. And he gained experience in conductorship that was to be of great service later. For a period of four years he published nothing, studying incessantly and improving himself in his art with that determination and high idealism that marked his whole life.

Abandoning this post at length, Brahms settled for a couple of years in Switzerland—at Winterthur, where Kirchner, an able

Schumann pupil and a congenial friend, was stationed. There were pupils to teach and a publisher for his compositions; life was happy there.

The performance of the first Piano Concerto, at Leipzig in 1859, created strong discussion. There were those who disliked its severity and lack of solo display. Some one called it 'not a concerto, but a Symphony with pianoforte obbligato'. Many of Brahms' works were received with hostility, but he went quietly on and gradually made his way.

In 1862 came the settlement at Vienna which was to last the rest of the Composer's life. For a time he held various conductorships there. The romantically-conceived and classically-executed Piano and Chamber Music, the *German Requiem* in 1868, the Four Symphonies, the Violin Concerto, and other works established his position. He came to be looked upon as the main bulwark of the serious classical school by those who detested the works of Wagner as new-fangled and outrageous, but he never asked for this position, and, indeed, was himself a close and admiring student of everything Wagner wrote. So far as he personally was concerned, the manifesto just mentioned was directed against Liszt and not Wagner.

The rhythmic complexity,[1] the effective counterpoint, the rich harmony, the general intellectuality, the warm romanticism, and the dignity of Brahms' work, the effective combination in him of many of the characteristics of Bach, Beethoven, and Schumann, gave a very evident individuality to all he produced, and a Brahms cult grew up that was practised by his admirers in various countries with almost excessive fervour. In England there was a 'highbrow' Brahms coterie that somewhat resembled the Browning coteries of about the same period.[2]

[1] His music must have seemed rhythmically very complex and varied when first heard, considering the bondage to musical metre (roughly speaking, slavery to the bar-line and the accented 'first beat') under which music had served for about two centuries, and from which it is not even yet wholly freed. The rhythmic complexity of Brahms really amounts to little more than the frequent use of a few set devices.

[2] Perhaps the Brahms cult went on the whole too far. It 'put people's backs up'. George Bernard Shaw, who was a young London music

The picture of Brahms' last public appearance is a touching one. It occurred in Vienna, in 1897. He was dying of cancer of the liver. He knew it and the public knew it, and when, as the Fourth Symphony ended, the Composer was called for, and stood before the audience 'shrunken in form, with lined countenance, white hair hanging lank', and tears running down his cheeks, there was much sad sympathy. He had had in his time a fight with poverty, and was wont to point to the manuscript of his *German Requiem* in proof of this, for it was made up of pages of various sizes, due to his inability to buy more than a few sheets of manuscript paper at a time. Material comfort had been gained, the public had more and more been won over, critics had ceased to oppose. And now the fight was over, and the end had come, and the parting was near. In a few weeks he was dead.

Brahms was a very human creature. He was often rough and boorish and satirical—partly, no doubt, as a protection against the lion-hunters of whom he went in fear, and partly from an upbringing in working-class poverty. He loved children and peasants, and, like Beethoven, he loved nature, and in it he perpetually sought inspiration. The outstanding characteristic of his life, as one reads it, is the high idealism that permeated it. He sought no publicity and did not defend his work; he enjoyed many friendships but maintained enough solitude for the growth of his spirit. His art to him was everything, and in the quiet detachment with which he practised it, he reminds one of Bach, or of that César Franck of whom we are later to read.

Brahms' music does not at once carry every one by storm. It is a common experience for men to dislike or disdain the music of Brahms and then, as they grow older, to come to see in it qualities they had never suspected.

critic in those days, will probably never recover. As recently as January 1920, he described Brahms as 'a musical sensualist with intellectual affectation, who succeeded only as an incoherent voluptary, too fundamentally addle-headed to make anything great out of the delicious musical luxuries he produced' (Article on Elgar in *Music and Letters*).

ROSSINI

Rossini (1792–1868) came of good-humoured parents. The father was a musician—or at any rate town-trumpeter of Pesaro on the Adriatic coast of Italy; he was also town inspector of slaughter-houses, and the head of what was reputed to be a particularly merry home. The mother, a baker's daughter, was a woman of resource; when in 1796 her husband was clapped into jail for French and republican sympathies, she went, with her four-year-old, to Bologna and came out as a leading lady in comic opera. Then the trumpeter was released and turned himself into a horn player so that he might be the companion of his wife in her professional travels, the future composer being left in the charge of a pork-butcher.

Rossini.

Soon the mother's voice failed, but the horn-playing did not, and the child, who had had some indifferent musical instruction, travelled with his father, serving as accompanist in theatres and doing odd jobs of a musical kind. He also did a little singing and acting.

By and by he was admitted to the Conservatoire of Bologna, as a budding composer and violoncellist. He won a prize for a Cantata, and had other successes. Mozart's music had a great appeal for him, and his companions called him 'the little German'.

Out of his pupilage he quickly made a name as an Opera Composer, his pieces coming out one after another, in various opera houses of Italy. His melodic gifts and sense of humour helped him.

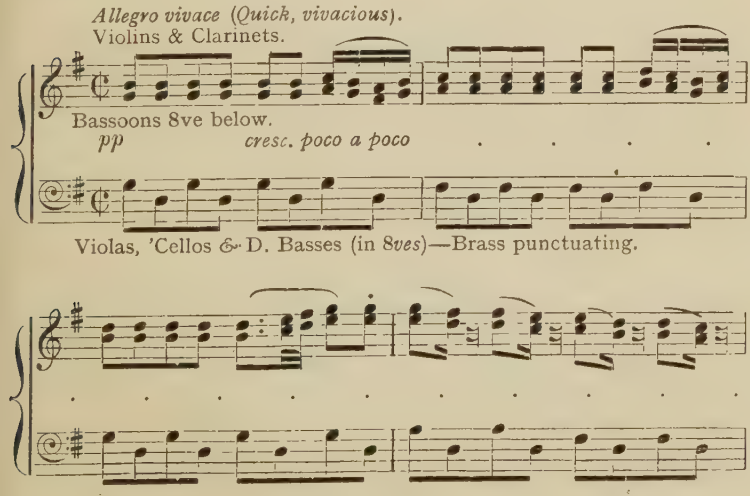
In his early twenties he was already director of the great San Carlo Theatre in Naples, and composer of *The Barber of Seville*, a witty setting of Beaumarchais' witty play and the most delightful work of its type since Mozart, which took him thirteen days to complete. Whilst in the Spanish vein, and full of the inspiration of Spanish love-making, he married a Spanish *prima donna*, who, by the way, was also a composer, Isabella Colbran; she had a bad

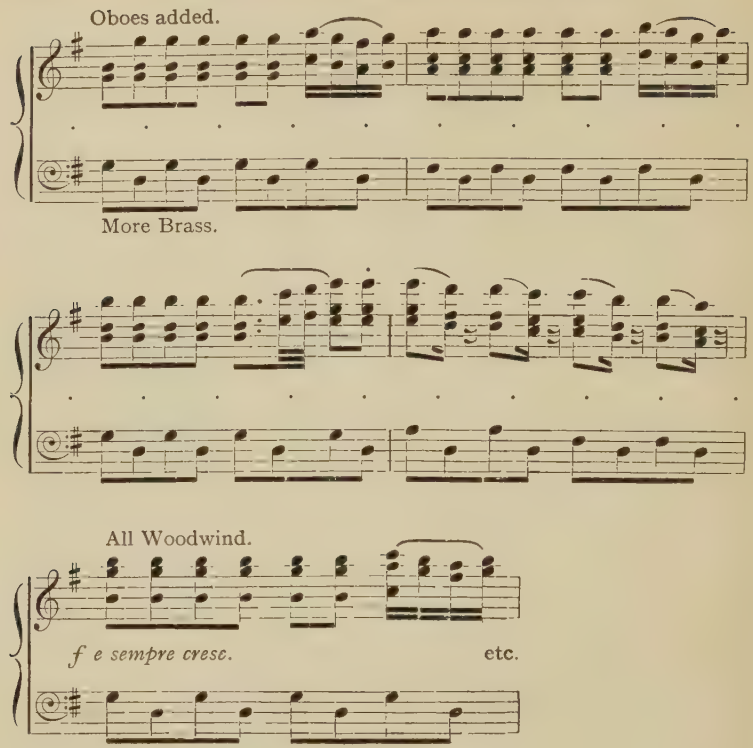
reputation for singing out of tune, but probably had domestic qualities that compensated. The two visited London and Paris, and in the latter place Rossini, for a short time, directed the Italian Theatre.

Rossini usually composed an opera every five months or so. In Vienna he had great success. He met Beethoven there and tried to get up a subscription for him.

In 1829, aged thirty-seven, he wrote his famous *William Tell*. Then he stopped. He had made all the money he needed; he had fame and he wanted rest and pleasure. After a time he settled in Paris, and then, after forty years of never putting pen to paper (except for a few trifles, the very Italian-operatic setting of the *Stabat Mater* and some piano music) he died in 1868.

He had a wonderful gift of melody, understood the capabilities of the human voice, and was the best orchestrator Italy had produced up to his time. (Remembering his father, he wrote specially well for the horn.) A certain kind of *crescendo* became a mannerism with Rossini, and it is universally known as 'The Rossinian Crescendo'. Briefly, it consists of the mere mechanical reiteration of a musical phrase or sentence (often more fussy than deeply significant) with an ever-increasing number of instruments, until the whole Orchestra is engaged. Here is a specimen—from the Overture to the otherwise brilliant *Barber of Seville*.





Parry (*Evolution of the Art of Music*) speaks sadly of 'such tricks as the whirling Rossinian *crescendo*, which is like a dance of dervishes, all about nothing', producing 'physical excitement without any simultaneous exaltation of higher faculties'.

DONIZETTI

Donizetti was born in 1797, at Bergamo. There is an absurd story, which appears occasionally in the press, to the effect that he was of Scottish descent (a mythical ancestor Donald or Don Izett has been supplied as the necessary basis of the theory).

He studied at the conservatoires of Bergamo and Bologna. The first opera to bring him real renown was *Ann Boleyn* (1830), *Lucy of Lammermoor* (based on Scott's novel) extended his fame greatly, and *The Daughter of the Regiment, Lucrezia Borgia*, and *La Favorita* carried it still farther. At forty-seven the Composer was struck down by a form of paralysis which developed into mental weakness, and he died at fifty-one (1848)—the composer of sixty operas.

Donizetti made his success by means of a natural gift of facile, taking melody combined with ability to write florid, showy, singable vocal parts, requiring first-rate vocalists to tackle them. He was a poor orchestrator and a poor contrapuntist. Look at a few pages of Donizetti and you will be surprised to learn of his appointment as Professor of Counterpoint at the Naples Conservatoire.

BELLINI

Bellini was a Sicilian. He was born in 1802, the son of an organist. A nobleman sent him to Naples to study at the conservatoire.

At twenty-five he wrote, for the Scala at Milan, an Opera, *The Pirate*, which made him at once famous. He then produced opera after opera in quick succession, *Norma* and *The Puritans* being two that are still particularly remembered.

Rubini, Malibran, Pasta, Tamburini, Lablache, Grisi—all the great names of swell singers, male and female, are associated with the first performances of Bellini's works, which immediately on production became everywhere popular. Their main effect came from their melodies—which Chopin greatly admired, and which (as suggested on page 75) had doubtless some effect upon his melodic style. In Paris Bellini had enjoyed great popularity.

Bellini gravely overworked, and died at thirty-three (1835). He was buried at Père-Lachaise, and fourteen years later his friend, Chopin, was buried beside him.

To some extent Bellini was a follower of Rossini, who supported him with encouragement and advice.

VERDI

Verdi was a North Italian; he was born at Roncole, near Busseto, in the district of Parma, in 1813—the year of the birth of Wagner. His parents kept a small inn and shop. He must have showed early inclinations towards music, for at about the age of seven his parents provided him with a small spinet (or harpsichord). He tried to pick out chords on it, and failing one day to find again the chord of the previous day flew into a temper and smashed it with a hammer. It was repaired and is still preserved and bears this inscription, hidden within on one of the jacks :—

Verdi.

> These jacks were renewed and new-leathered, and the pedals fitted gratis by me, Stefano Cavaletti, in view of the good disposition of the lad Giuseppe Verdi in wishing to learn to play, this being reward enough for me. Anno 1821.

About the same time Giuseppe was himself the victim of Italian excitability, for the priest of the village church, upon whom he was waiting as an acolyte, seeing him absorbed in listening to the organ instead of attending to his ceremonial duties, kicked him down the altar steps so that he lay at the bottom insensible.

His father allowed him to take lessons from the organist who had so dangerously charmed him, and in a couple of years (aged ten) the boy succeeded his master and began to charm others in his turn. During the week he went to school at Busseto, lodging with a cobbler who boarded him and paid for his schooling for a fee of threepence a day.

Busseto was a very musical town, and its leading musical light was one Barezzi, president of the Philharmonic Society, and, as it happened, the wholesaler from whom Verdi's father bought his supplies of spirits and coffee. Barezzi took Verdi into his employment and encouraged his musical studies. Verdi had lessons from the conductor of the Philharmonic Society and wrote some music for

performance by the Society. The local charitable institution promised money for instruction in Milan, so Verdi went there. He tried for a scholarship at the Conservatoire but was refused on the grounds of lack of aptitude for music. He therefore took private lessons—from one Lavigna. In Milan he remained for two years, and then returned to Busseto in the expectation of succeeding the cathedral organist, who had died; another applicant was, however, appointed, whereupon the Philharmonic Society, which, with its orchestra, had been in the habit of taking part in the more important services, removed all its music and opened hostilities which lasted for some years. Although not successful in his claim to the cathedral position, Verdi stayed in Busseto, marrying the daughter of his kind protector, Barezzi.

At twenty-five, with a wife and two children and an opera, Verdi went again to Milan. The opera, now forgotten, was performed at the Scala, and with fair success.

Suddenly, within three months, Verdi lost his wife and both children. A comic opera he had written was a failure and, sad and disheartened, he dropped composition—as he thought, for ever. A clever impresario who had faith in him managed to shake that resolution, and with *Nebuchadnezzar* Verdi made a considerable hit. *The Lombards* followed, and made a still greater one, as it had passages that could be applauded as a demonstration against the Austrian Government that then ruled Northern Italy. Other operas followed quickly, and with three works of the early fifties of the century, *Rigoletto*, *The Troubadour* ('Il Trovatore') and *The Misled* ('La Traviata'), the work of Verdi enters the zone of the still performed.

It would be useless here to detail the whole of the operatic productions of Verdi, or the circumstances in which each appeared, but three outstanding ones must be mentioned.

Aïda, on an Egyptian subject, was composed for the Khedive of Egypt and first performed at Cairo—in 1871; it is highly spectacular, very tuneful, and very dramatic.

After *Aïda* it seemed as though Verdi's work was done, since no new opera was produced for sixteen years. Then, in 1887, he astonished the world with *Othello*, a work of a very different kind from any he had previously written, often styled 'Wagnerian',

perhaps because it has something of the 'leading motive' element and also frankly aims at a genuinely dramatic presentation of its great story.

At the time of the production of this remarkable work Verdi was seventy-four. Six years later appeared another Shakespearian work, with the same characteristics still further developed—*Falstaff*, the work of an eighty-year-old composer who in it showed both a youthful gaiety and a youthful ability to adapt himself to modern ways that are truly amazing. *Falstaff*, though pretty often performed, is not at present one of Verdi's 'popular' operas. It seems to be 'too good' for the large operatic public, though it sparkles with bright humour, witty counterpoint, and clever orchestration, and has, indeed, been hailed as the greatest modern comic opera. Boito, himself an able composer, was the librettist of *Othello* and *Falstaff*.

Verdi, the Italian melody-maker *par excellence*, had, at eighty years old, learnt from Wagner, both in true, artistic dramatization, and also in actual method (e. g. plastic, continuous, tuneful recitative for the voices, a whole musical fabric of real value, &c.), yet had not dried up his own great melodic genius, and had retained all that is best in Italian Opera (in his case, doubtless, partly inborn, partly acquired).

One major work of Verdi needs to be mentioned—his great Requiem in memory of the romantic novelist Manzoni, the Italian Sir Walter Scott; it is rather theatrical, yet full of real feeling and very effective.

Other well-known works are settings of the Latin hymns, *Stabat Mater* and *Te Deum*, and above all a String Quartet which has much merit and interest, especially considering the wide difference between most of his work and Chamber Music. This Quartet is sometimes performed, and has lately been recorded for the gramophone (Polydor).

That Verdi was a good deal influenced by the Romantic movement in literature goes without saying, when one considers the original sources of many of his plots—*Ernani* and *Rigoletto* (Victor Hugo), *La Traviata* (Alexander Dumas fils), *Macbeth*, *Othello*, and *Falstaff* (Shakespeare). He died in 1901.[1]

[1] This seems a suitable place to record an objection of E. E. 'I do not think you allot your space quite fairly between the Teutonic and Latin elements in nineteenth-century music. Of course the *greatest* German masters

PUCCINI

Puccini came of a very musical family. There were four generations of musicians behind him. He was born in Lucca in 1858, and trained at the Milan Conservatoire. He reached the honour of performance at the famous Scala theatre in Milan at the age of twenty-six. *La Bohème,* in 1896, based on Murger's well-known novel, was his first outstanding success. Then came *Tosca, Madam Butterfly*, *The Girl of the Golden West*, and a set of three one-act operas of which a comedy, *Gianni Schicchi*, is the best, and is, perhaps, a little masterpiece. *Turandot* was his last opera, and was unfinished when the composer died in 1924 (it was completed by Alfano). A great melodic facility, of a typical Italian order, effective orchestration, a strong sense of the stage, and a realism sometimes crude are characteristics of Puccini's work. These are all qualities that bring an opera writer a large popular following.

GOUNOD

Gounod's mother was a fine pianist. He was born (in Paris) in 1818 and quickly showed his inherited talent. He studied at the Paris Conservatoire and won the Prix de Rome. At Rome he studied church music with particular interest, especially that of the sixteenth century.

On return to Paris he became an organist, and studied with a view

were by far the more important, and should be treated accordingly, but need the disparity be quite so tremendous as your book makes it? I think, for instance, that you underrate Bellini, your view of whom seems to me quite Teutonic, and Bizet deserves greater prominence, both because he is typical of a definite and valuable element in music, and because his influence has been so great. I also think you omit some very characteristic works. It seems strange to me to mention Donizetti and not his *Don Pasquale.* And the recent revival of Verdi's *La Forza del Destino* has been hailed as a revelation: he did not suddenly become great with *Aïda* as some people seem to think. What about the Italian *verismo*—not I admit a very high form of art, but still a living force to be reckoned with?'

to the priesthood, which, however, he never entered. His Solemn Mass, which (or part of which) had its first performance in London, in 1851, first brought him the 'publicity' which every composer needs as much as every business man. He was then thirty-four.

Gounod.

A few months later the Opera, *Sappho*, was produced in Paris. The Opera which was to bring him real fame was, of course, *Faust*, which appeared eight years later. It shows much stage-skill and much melody, and these have made it one of the most popular operas ever written, but those who like Goethe do not like Gounod. Other Operas were also written (*Romeo and Juliet* is well known, but those who like Shakespeare do not like Gounod), and a symphony or two had an ephemeral career. There were, further, a number of oratorios, devout ballads, and some popular trifles such as the *Funeral March of a Marionette*, and the *Meditation* on Bach's Prelude in C, which show no signs of dropping out of use.

The oratorios, especially, were popular in England, and here Gounod came at the time of the Franco-Prussian War, staying for five years – till 1875. He was taken up and 'run' by Mrs. Georgina Weldon, the vocalist, a lady so strong-minded and original that in a period of obedient wives she was taken to be insane and only managed to remain outside the asylum in which her husband wished to shut her up by repeated defence in the law courts, which she ably conducted in person In the end she and Gounod quarrelled, and more fighting resulted. Mrs. Weldon's forty or fifty large cases of legal and other papers (she never destroyed a line of writing) have only lately been examined, and they were found to contain a number of smaller works of Gounod, probably never published.

With intervals, Gounod retained his devotion, and a Mass which he wrote for Rheims Cathedral he intended, he said, to write kneeling—on the stone on which Joan of Arc knelt at the Coronation of Charles VII. Gounod, it will be seen, was a true romanticist!

He had a lyric gift and a dramatic gift, and a gift of very pleasant

orchestration, in fact he had all the 'popular' qualities, but he veered too much in the direction of the effeminate and sentimental.

Gounod died at seventy-five in 1893.

BIZET

Born at Paris in 1838, he studied at the Conservatoire, won the Prix de Rome, and married the daughter of his composition professor, Halévy.

Bizet.

For a long time he toiled in vain to win recognition as an opera composer. Three works still occasionally to be heard are *The Pearl Fishers* (1863), *The Fair Maid of Perth* (1867), and *Djamileh* (1872). They seem to-day thin-blooded and conventional.

A hit was made with an overture to Sardou's *Patrie*, and this is still frequently seen in concert programmes. The incidental music to Daudet's *Maid of Arles* ('L'Arlésienne') is most of it charming, and is known to concert audiences in its form of two Suites for Orchestra. Two other Suites are *Rome* and *Children's Games*.

The now universally popular *Carmen* was a setting of a libretto taken from the story of the same name by Mérimée. It is a Spanish gipsy opera. Its success was not immediate and was never known to the Composer, who died a month or two after its first performance (1875). The tunefulness and delicate, piquant orchestration of Bizet are very attractive, and in *Carmen*, at any rate, he shows dramatic power.

For a further remark on Bizet see the Appendix to Vol. III, *The Two Frances in Music*.

LALO

Lalo was born at Lille in 1823. He studied at the Paris Conservatoire. He first composed drawing-room ballads, then Chamber Music. Then for ten years he composed nothing. At forty-four he

brought out an Opera, which had little success, and he then turned to orchestral composition. His *Spanish Symphony* for Violin and Orchestra, and other works, made his name, and his Opera, *The King of Ys*, years after, confirmed it.

His masterpiece is considered to be the ballet-pantomime *Namouna* (also existing in the modified form of an orchestral suite), which awakened the enthusiasm of Debussy, d'Indy, and others, and influenced them a good deal. Dukas, also, owes a good deal to him. Adept orchestration is one of Lalo's strongest points.

He died in 1892.

DELIBES

Delibes was born in 1836, in the Department of Sarthe, and died in 1891. He studied at the Paris Conservatoire and then at once appeared before the public as a composer of successful Operettas, Operas, and Ballets. (Of the Ballets, *Coppélia* and *Sylvia* are favourite specimens. Of the Operas, *Lakmé* has been popular.) In melody, harmony, and orchestration he had that graceful light-handed touch which is always welcomed by musicians and non-musicians alike. He was, as one says, 'typically French'—but in saying it one remembers that France expresses itself in more than one type.

Like Chabrier, but in a lesser degree, Delibes has influenced many composers of very different temperament from himself.

CHABRIER

Chabrier was a Southern Frenchman; he was born in 1841. His mother was fond of music and gaiety, and he inherited her temperament. At fifteen he was brought to Paris. He entered the Civil Service, but all the time enjoyed a high private reputation as an astonishingly brilliant pianist. He also spent many hours in association with the literary men of the Capital, especially the Symbolist Verlaine; he was enthusiastic about the Impressionist School of Painting. He was always friendly with the Franck group of musicians.

At thirty-six he produced a Comic Opera, *The Star*, which had a great success. Other similar work followed. Then he became a Wagnerite. He now resigned his government position and became an assistant to Lamoureux (see Vol. III, under d'Indy, page 73) in his early Paris Wagner performances. (At a later date he composed a set of quadrilles on themes from *Tristan!*).

His orchestral Rhapsody *España* greatly enhanced his popular reputation, as did also his Opera *Gwendoline*, which was refused by the Paris Opera as 'Wagnerian' but taken up in Brussels and in Germany. *The King in Spite of Himself* (*Le Roi malgré lui*) had a great success at the Paris Opera.

Then a natural excitability became pathological, and still in his early fifties (1894) Chabrier died paralysed.

MASSENET

Massenet was born in 1842, in the Department of Loire. He studied at the Paris Conservatoire, especially under Ambroise Thomas. He won the Prix de Rome.

He had early Opera successes and was appointed to the staff of the Conservatoire. Amongst his pupils was Debussy, who (it will seem strange, doubtless, to many readers who know something of the music of both men [1]) always acknowledged great indebtedness to him. Debussy, it is true, speaks of Massenet as a composer obsessed by the feminine interest of life, but lauds his conception of the true role of the composer. Says he, 'Music ought humbly to give pleasure; probably there is great beauty possible within these limits. Extreme complexity is the reverse of art. Beauty ought to be sensitive, to offer us an immediate enjoyment, to impose itself upon, or insinuate itself into us without our making any effort to grasp it. Look at Leonardo da Vinci and Mozart. Those are the great artists!' Surely in this saying, and in others like it, Debussy was humanly influenced by the glamour of old friendship. He put the telescope to his blind eye

[1] E. W. remarks perfectly justly that 'there is a good deal of Massenet in some early Debussy, e. g. *The Prodigal Son*'. But see the biographical sketch of Debussy in Vol. III for a suggestion as to that.

and saw none of the insipidity and facile sentimentality that are mingled with the genuine melodic charm of much of Massenet's work. Perhaps he did Massenet little service when he mentioned Leonardo and Mozart in the same breath as him; to read Anatole France's *Thaïs* and then to hear Massenet's operatic treatment of it is to receive a shock. Amongst other operas of Massenet are *Herodias*, *Manon*, *Sappho*, and *Werther*. His orchestral Suite, *Picturesque Scenes*, has considerable popularity.

Massenet died in 1912.

MESSAGER

Messager was born in 1853 at Montluçon. He was a pupil of Saint-Saëns. His chief fame has come from his very tuneful Light Operas and Ballets, some of which are known everywhere. He has been director at Covent Garden and also at the Paris Opera. Debussy dedicated to him his *Pelléas and Mélisande*, and he was the first to conduct its performance.

SULLIVAN

Arthur Seymour Sullivan was born in London in 1842; his father was an army bandsman. His early musical training was received in the Chapel Royal Choir. He was the first to win the Mendelssohn Scholarship, which enabled him to study at the Royal Academy of Music, and then at the Leipzig Conservatoire (where Grieg was a fellow-student). For a time he was a London organist.

Sullivan.

On his return from Leipzig he had brought with him his music to *The Tempest*, which, performed at the Crystal Palace when he was twenty, at once gave him a considerable place in the esteem of musical people. Various compositions followed, but his real life-work began when, in 1867, aged twenty-five, he produced his setting as a Comic Opera, of

Burnand's play, *Cox and Box*. The great series of Comic Operas to libretti of Gilbert followed, which have never, for pure fun, charming melody, skilfully achieved rhythmic variety, piquant orchestration, and essential Englishness, had their equal.

It is sometimes said that Sullivan was entirely English (see for instance Mr. Edward German's article in the *Dictionary of Contemporary Composers*. 'In everything he wrote he betrayed no foreign influence' —such statements are common). True, the English folk-song style played its part in his development, and so did the Purcell-Arne seventeenth–eighteenth-century straightforward, swinging, simple melodic style; and in the general form and style of the operas something was doubtless learnt from the English Ballad Operas of the eighteenth century. But he learnt from Mozart, from the French Light Opera, and especially, perhaps, from Offenbach. This cannot be denied—and yet it is! And listen to the tunes in the *Rosamunde* Overture, and consider whether he did not learn something from Schubert. No harm in that! As Emerson says, 'The greatest genius is the most indebted man.' What is now wanted is a composer who will learn from Sullivan, and provide some more Light Operas on the same high musical level. But he will need another Gilbert.[1]

Sullivan died in 1900.

GLUCK

(Although not coming properly within the period of this volume, Gluck receives a brief notice here, since his work is considered in the chapter on Opera.)

Gluck was born in 1714 near Neumarkt, in Bavaria. He had some musical education at a Jesuit school and continued it in Prague, where he went when about eighteen, and then, in early manhood, in Milan, under Sammartini. From his twenty-seventh year onwards

[1] E. W. comments, 'But he will want another Gilbert.' Quite so! No non-Gilbert opera of Sullivan (so far as I know) now keeps the stage, though I cannot myself see any difference in musical quality. To my mind this seems to involve a reconsideration and lower estimate of Sullivan's own gifts.

he was composing operas, at first for theatres in Italy. At the age of forty-one he came to London where, without much success, and derided by Handel, then omnipotent there, he wrote several further operas.[1] In the Haymarket Theatre he played a 'concerto on twenty-six drinking glasses, tuned with spring water, accompanied by the whole band, being an instrument of his own invention, upon which he performs whatever may be done on a violin or harpsichord'.

Gluck.

Passing to Paris, he was much influenced by Rameau's operas, with their dramatic recitatives, and this tended towards dissatisfaction with the conventional Italian works in which he had been brought up. He continued his composition actively, bringing out opera after opera, and was rewarded for one produced in Rome by a Papal knighthood. For six or seven years he was settled in Vienna, where *Orpheus and Eurydice* appeared in 1762. At Vienna he taught Marie Antoinette singing. His *Alcestis* appeared five years later. (See page 56).

With the help of Marie Antoinette, now Dauphiness of France, he settled down to make a Paris career. *Iphigenia in Aulis* appeared in 1774, the year his now nineteen-year-old patroness became Queen. This work had a great success. *Orpheus and Eurydice* (in French), a re-casting of the former Opera of the same name (in Italian), also appeared in 1774. Gluck was now sixty and at the height of fame. *Alcestis* was similarly re-cast and *Armida* and *Iphigenia in Tauris* followed.

During this period Italian opera began to put up a defensive fight in Paris; a young composer of reputation, Piccini, a Neapolitan, was imported and an Italian attempt at a counter-revolution was

[1] E. W. suggests that the legend of Handel's derision rests upon one recorded quip, at the expense of Gluck's counterpoint (which was never his strong card). He also points out that Handel never knew a note of Gluck's rememberable things.

begun. He, also, became a favourite with Marie Antoinette, and he, also, became her singing master. He, also, produced a host of operas; he, also, composed an *Iphigenia* (the prima donna who took the name part at the first performance was drunk, and the joke circulated that this was 'Iphigénie en Champagne').

A war of Gluckists and Piccinists broke out, a pamphlet war which sometimes became a war of fists. Piccini, himself, seems to have admired his rival, and when, rich and famous, and after some years' retirement in Vienna, Gluck died, Piccini wished to institute an annual subscription concert in his memory, for, said he, 'opera is as much indebted to Gluck as the French theatre is to Corneille' (cf. Rossini's attempt to get up a subscription for Beethoven, page 143; these unexpected admirations do sometimes occur.)

Gluck died in 1787.

PERIOD V

The Romantics as Nationalists

XVIII

THE ROMANTICS AS NATIONALISTS

IT was bound to come, Schumann saw that. In 1843, welcoming a young Danish composer (Gade), he wrote:

It really begins to look as if the nations bordering on Germany desired to emancipate themselves from the influence of German music; this might annoy a German nativist, but it could only appear natural and cheering to the more profound thinker, if he understood human nature. So we see the French-Pole Chopin, Bennett the Englishman, Verhulst the Dutchman, besides the representatives of Hungarian music, giving promise and performance that must lead them to be regarded as most worthy embodiments of the artistic tendencies of their native lands. And though they all seem to regard Germany as their first and favourite teacher of music, we cannot wonder that they try to speak their own musical language to their own nation, without becoming untrue to their former instructor. For no land can yet boast of masters that equal our greatest ones: who will declare the contrary?

In the further North of Europe we also see national tendencies displaying themselves. Lindblad in Stockholm transcribes old folk-songs for us, and even Ole Bull, though by no means a man of the first rank of talent, has tried to naturalize in our country the tones of his own home. Perhaps the appearance of so many distinguished modern poets in Scandinavia has given a powerful impulse to musical talent there, if the artists of that country have not been sufficiently reminded by their lakes, mountains, aurora borealis, and antique runes, that the North may well dare to speak its own language.

Our young composer has also been nourished by the poetry of his fatherland: he knows and loves its poets; old legends and traditions accompanied him on his boyish wanderings, and Ossian's giant harp resounded from the shores of Britain. A decided Northern musical character makes its appearance for the first time in Gade's music, and especially in his *Ossian* overture; but Gade will be the first

to acknowledge all that he owes to German masters. They have rewarded the great industry with which he has devoted himself to the study of their works (he knows nearly all, by all) by the gift they bestow on those who remain true to them—the consecration of mastership.[1]

Before we proceed, a few remarks may be made upon Schumann's statement. Let us first take, one by one, the composers he mentions.

i. 'The French-Pole Chopin' did truly contribute notably to the nationalist movement, in his treatment of Polish national dances, the Mazurka and the Polonaise; and, as will have been gathered from the brief biography of him already given in this volume, in doing so he was genuinely inspired by patriotic feeling.

ii. 'Bennett, the Englishman' (i. e. William Sterndale Bennett, 1816–1875) never attained the greatness expected of him by Mendelssohn and Schumann, nor did he ever very boldly 'emancipate himself from the influence of German music'. The composer, in fact, was crushed by the piano teacher, Royal Academy Principal and Cambridge Professor, to the gain and loss of British music.

iii. 'Verhulst, the Dutchman', a very intimate personal friend of Schumann, had a most successful German and Dutch career, chiefly as conductor, but attained no great position as a composer, and as such is to-day forgotten. Schumann's expectations as to his contemporaries have often been falsified, but that is no fault of his. He could see promise but could not guarantee temperamental and circumstantial conditions favourable to its fulfilment.

iv. By 'the representatives of Hungarian music' he probably alluded chiefly to Liszt, who had, in 1843, published very little that had any Hungarian flavour, but in some of his meetings with Mendelssohn and Schumann may have revealed, possibly in extemporization, his national interests.

[1] From Ritter's translation of Schumann's *Music and Musicians*.

v. Lindblad (1801–78) was a singing teacher and composer, trained in Germany, as every northern composer then was, and prolific as the author of songs to Swedish words with a Swedish tinge in the melodies.

vi. Of Ole Bull (1810–80) something is said on p. 196. He was certainly a very fervent nationalist, both in politics and art.

vii. 'Our young composer,' Gade, after all this eulogy, never fulfilled his nationalistic promise. His German training, so much extolled by the German who is speaking, was too much for him (see pages 173 and 197).

So much by way of commentary on Schumann's article. It is to his credit that, though somewhat dimly, he perceived a tendency that was only to become strongly pronounced in a later generation—that of Grieg, Dvořák, and Musorgsky, composers whose works he did not live to know. Observe that in Schumann's 'Rules and Maxims for Young Musicians' he advises, 'Listen attentively to all folk-songs; these are a treasure of lovely melody, and will teach you the characteristics of various nations.' Nothing is truer than that national characteristics are expressed in folk-music, and, as national temperaments are very varied, the movement which was to bring into composition the wider use of folk-song themes (or themes modelled on or influenced by folk-song) necessarily brought also an increased melodic and rhythmic variety of subject-matter, and widened and deepened the scope of music.

The Motives—Patriotism and Primitivism

It may be surmised that there are two motives behind every movement towards nationalism in music, the conscious motive of patriotism, and the perhaps less conscious motive of 'back to the land'. There is, at once, a revolt against foreign 'domination' and a revolt against overmuch civilization.

Both these motives are of such a character as to be enormously strengthened by the growth of Romanticism. For

one thing, Romanticism in any art means a general throwing off of bonds, and when bonds begin to be thown off there are pretty sure to be found amongst them both that of foreign domination and that of highly organized development. And, for another thing, the Romantic temper once aroused finds natural and ready food in the glorious past that every country claims and easily moves on to the idea of a glorious national future, patriotism being, in fact, in itself, like mother-love, one of the romantic emotions.

Returning to the suggested motives of nationalism in music, it may then be said that the chief are a wish to be national and a wish to be natural though, indeed, the fulfilment of the former wish is probably felt to be dependent upon the fulfilment of the latter, for one cannot build afresh without going down to the foundations.

The two dominations in music during the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries were the Italian and the German. Roughly speaking, Italy had for some time dominated the world in Opera and Germany had dominated it in Instrumental Music.

With Weber (and, later, with Wagner) Germany threw off the Italian operatic yoke, and now came the time for other nations to throw off both the Italian Operatic yoke and the German Instrumental yoke.

Who are the 'Nationalists'?

It is difficult to fix periods in the development of Art. We found that out in trying to fix the epoch of the Romantic in music; musical styles can easily be divided into the Classic and the Romantic, but in the most Classical period the Romantic temper has never been entirely absent, and in the most Romantic period Classical forms often persisted.

And, similarly, it is difficult to fix the epoch of the Nationalistic. Schumann is decidedly a German nationalist, nurtured upon German literature and German music and expressing

intensely the German spirit. Are we to call Chopin a definite Nationalist? Perhaps not, though, as already said, his Mazurkas and Polonaises, at any rate, are the expression of an ardent patriotic faith by means of a distinctly national idiom. If by Nationalism in music, at this period, we mean, more than anything else, Anti-Germanism, then by such a definition Chopin was, indeed, the first greatly successful nineteenth-century Nationalist.

But a group of somewhat later composers of various nations are as a rule intended when we speak of the Nationalist Movement in music—Smetana and Dvořák in Bohemia; Grieg in Norway; Balakiref, Borodin, Musorgsky, and Rimsky-Korsakof in Russia; and Albeniz, Granados, and de Falla in Spain. These men, more clearly and decidedly and consistently than any predecessors or contemporaries, show us the national application of the Romantic spirit.

Political Influences

It is impossible to dissect out and separately exhibit all the closely interwoven nerves and muscles of a complex artistic organization, and in the study of Nationalism in music we find the complexity to be extreme. Literary and political developments have their part. Amongst the former may be instanced the growing study of national legend and folk-poetry, amongst the latter the widespread desire for political freedom that found expression, as the first half of the century neared its close, in such risings as those which re-established a republic in France, drove the Pope out of Rome, massacred the Austrians in the streets of Milan, and snatched Sicily from the crown of Naples. In the years 1848–9, not only were these things happening, but Hungary was rebelling against Austria and Croatia against Hungary; there was a revolution in Saxony in which Wagner was actively concerned; there was an insurrection in Posen. Schleswig-Holstein was rebelling against Denmark and Smith O'Brien's Army of 'the Irish

Republic' was yielding to a posse of fifty constables in a cabbage garden in Tipperary.

All this constituted the most general outburst of national feeling that the world had ever seen. Everybody seemed to be engaged either in shaking off somebody else's rule or else in opposing the shaking off of one's own. There is no need to try to relate all this very closely to the growth of National feeling and the increased use of National idiom, but there is obviously a connexion—whether one considers that political revolt inspired artistic revolt, or (perhaps on the whole more reasonably) that the two revolts were different expressions of the same surging resolve to attain national freedom.[1]

Literary Influences

As for the growing interest in folk-legend and poetry just mentioned, that in itself is too ample and too complex a movement to be described here in detail. Perhaps British example had a good deal to do with the stimulating of such a movement.

In 1765, Bishop Percy had rescued a manuscript from the hands of the servant who made the fires—a collection, in seventeenth-century handwriting, of national ballads. He published it with other similar material—to the scorn of his friend Dr. Johnson. It soon fell into neglect in Britain, but its contents were translated and imitated in Germany by Bürger, who thus became the very founder of the German Romantic literary movement, and in turn inspired Scott, Coleridge, and others who became the leaders of the Romantic movement in England.

[1] It is interesting to note one direct incidental connexion between politics and music. Verdi's name, in 1848-9, became the symbol of Italian patriotism, its letters being perceived to give the initials of the cry, 'Vittoria Emmanuele Rè d'Italia'. One could cry, 'Viva Verdi', with the thought of a cunning *double-entendre*. At the first performance of the composer's opera, *The Battle of Legnano*, at the Argentina Theatre in Rome (January 1849), every piece was welcomed with this cry.

Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner*, Goethe's *Erl King* and *King in Thule*, and Heine's *Lorelei*, and the many other ballad-imitations of the period are the result of Percy's publication, and so are Scott's collection of *The Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* (1802), and similar collections of actual folk-poetry. We may almost say that whatever has since then been done either in the way of collecting the poetry of the simple people of any country or in that of writing poetry in a simple folk-style is due to Percy. Wordsworth said, 'I have already stated how much Germany is indebted to this Percy's *Reliques*, and, for our own country, its poetry has been absolutely redeemed by it. I do not think there is an able writer of verse at the present moment that would not be proud to acknowledge his obligation to the *Reliques*; I know that it is so with my friends, and as for myself, I am happy to make a public avowal of my own.'

Roughly speaking, we may say that whatever is natural, uninvolved, and unforced in the poetry of the nineteenth century, as contrasted with the general formality and frequently undue artificiality of that of the eighteenth, is due to the peasant influence which was brought into literature by Percy's re-discovery of the folk-mind.[1]

The Folk-Music Discovery

Naturally with this went a refertilizing of music. Poetry, Music, and Dancing are the three folk-arts,[2] and once the folk were rediscovered as poets it did not take very long to rediscover them as composers of songs and dance tunes. John Thomson of Edinburgh collected the melodies of Scotland,

[1] E. W. thinks I here overstate the case.

[2] A folk-drama, once extensive, now lingers weakly in our remote districts in the form of the Easter Play of St. George and such things. Folk painting and sculpture may almost be said never to have existed, unless the church frescoes and statuary of the middle ages be considered as such.

Ireland, and Wales, and engaged Pleyel, Haydn, Beethoven, Bishop and others to write accompaniments for them, and, where necessary, poets like Burns and Scott, Joanna Baillie, and Peter Pindar to prepare the words. Other nations initiated similar movements.[1]

The folk-musician began to come into his own; there was amongst the composers of many countries the cry, already suggested, of 'Back to the Land!' and not merely that, but 'Back to *our* Land!' The Wordsworthian love of the language of men 'in humble and rustic life' began to have its counterpart in music. In every country of Europe cultured people began to realize that, after all the court and town life of music during the previous two centuries or so, something was now to be gained by a fresh contact with the soil.

And when one gets in contact with the soil national differences begin to be perceptible. In the main the manners and diet of the great hotels of the world's capitals are standardized, whilst those of the village ale-houses and cafés are national and local. Everything we have in literature or music comes originally from the folk, and it is good occasionally to go back to the folk, and regain their simple directness and their local colourings.[2] If the nations of Europe had grown up in sealed compartments we may imagine that each would have developed its own art music. But they have not so grown up; at one time the musical style of Flanders had overflowed into the other compartments; at another that of England, at another that of Italy, and at another that of Germany. And so came into existence a cosmopolitanism, latterly very German-tinged, which needed correction from time to time, if individuals of

[1] The English curiously lagged; it seems to have remained for Lucy Broadwood, Frank Kidson, Baring Gould, Cecil Sharp, Vaughan Williams and other enthusiasts of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to realize that there existed a fine repertory of folk-tune in England.

[2] E. W. protests, 'If "folk" here means "peasantry" then I fear I don't agree.' (And the worst of it is, it *does*!—P. A. S.)

different nationalities were to be enabled to develop themselves on the lines really congenial to their natures.[1]

The course of the movement in several different countries may now be briefly sketched.

Bohemia

Bohemia lost its independence to the Habsburgs in 1620 and only regained it recently (1918), as a part of Czecho-Slovakia. For long the Bohemian language was prohibited; the growth of Bohemia's literature was stopped and its religion under a ban. In music it had something individual in the folk-song and the Hussite hymns, but conditions were not favourable to any national development in the art, and Bohemian composers had to adopt German and Italian fashions in music. Prague as an operatic centre was the friendly host of Gluck and of Mozart. Its opera-house had, indeed, been established as early as 1725. National aspirations either in political life or in art were, however, discouraged.

In the revolutionary year, 1848, an attempted rising was

[1] E. W. (who at this point of his reading of my proofs begins to be a little obstreperous) exclaims, 'Might not somewhere or other a few lines be added, perhaps, on the far from unimportant question of plagiarism? All composers whose names are known have rights that are respected, but many folk-enthusiasts seem somehow to consider it more morally commendable to get one's thematic material out of a public-house than out of one's own head—and it is so much easier not to have to bother to invent a tune for oneself.'

To this one might reply—The 'rights' alluded to are *not* always 'respected'; consider, for instance, the many cases (e.g. in Brahms) where a long composition is nothing but a string of 'Variations on a Theme of ——'. Further, the practice of basing compositions on folk (or 'public-house') themes is ancient and reputable. The Elizabethan virginalists did it. Haydn did it in his symphonies, &c.; so sometimes did Beethoven, as Stanford and others have pointed out.

No doubt E. W. would have some rejoinder to make to this, but the Author being chairman is able to close the debate!

quickly suppressed, but in 1860 a new constitution was won, the Czech language was made compulsory in schools, and, though independence had not yet come, an encouraging measure of national recognition was gained. A musical development took place, including the founding of Singing Societies (still a feature of social life), and of a National Opera-House in Prague.

The Bohemian composer, Smetana (1824–84), then engaged in Sweden, returned. He produced a series of thoroughly Bohemian operas—Bohemian both in literary and in musical subject matter. The one best known outside Bohemia is *The Bartered Bride* (1866), a village farce (for so it may almost be called), with a stirring piece of fresh-air music as an overture that is frequently heard from every concert platform in the world. The most truly characteristic passages in this are in exactly similar style to Dvořák's *Slavonic Dances*, a typical example of which is given on p. 172. His *The Brandenburgers in Bohemia* (1863), and *Dalibor* (1868) treat subjects from Czech history. His *Libuse* (1872) has for heroine the mythical foundress of Prague. His *Two Widows* (1874) is a comedy of Czech country life. His *The Secret* (1878) depicts life in a small Czech town. His other two operas, *The Kiss* (1876) and *The Devil's Wall* (1882), have also nationalistic subjects.

Smetana deliberately abstained from the writing of symphonies and the like, maintaining that a new school must refrain from the adoption of settled academic forms. The new form of the Symphonic Poem, inaugurated by his friend, Liszt, appealed to him, however, and he wrote a series of such Poems, entitled *My Fatherland*—(1) 'Vysehrad' (a mythical castle of Bohemia); (2) 'Vltava' (i.e. the river we know as the Moldau); (3) 'Sarka' (a legendary maiden, commemorated in the name of a valley near Prague); (4) 'From Bohemia's Groves and Meadows'; (5) 'Tabor' (the Taborites are warriors of national legend); (6) 'Blanik' (the Czech mountain in

which sleeps an army ready to sally out when the moment comes).

The influence of Czech folk-tune is seen in the themes from which Smetana develops his works, and he made some attempt at the artistic treatment of that popular dance, which arose in Bohemia in the early years of the nineteenth century and then spread all over the world, the Polka. He offers, in all respects, a good example of the Nationalistic branch of the Romantic School.

Smetana's younger colleague, Dvořák (1841–1904), was much influenced by him. He soaked himself in Bohemian folk-music, and then (as a rule) made use not of actual folk-music themes, but of original themes in the folk-music style and spirit. The very titles of a number of Dvořák's works show his nationalistic sympathies, e.g. *Heirs of the White Mountains* (a Cantata); *Bohemian Peasants' Hymn*; Three *Slavonic Rhapsodies*; *Slavonic Dances*; the Overture, *My Home*; piano-duets, *From the Bohemian Forests*.

Dvořák hated the necessity of publishing his works in Germany, with no indication of their Czech origin.[1] He made use in his instrumental works of two distinctively Czech forms, the *Dumka* (a lament, dirge, or elegy) and the *Furiant* (a lively dance). These, he realized, were capable of being used respectively as slow movement and as scherzo of pieces of the sonata type.

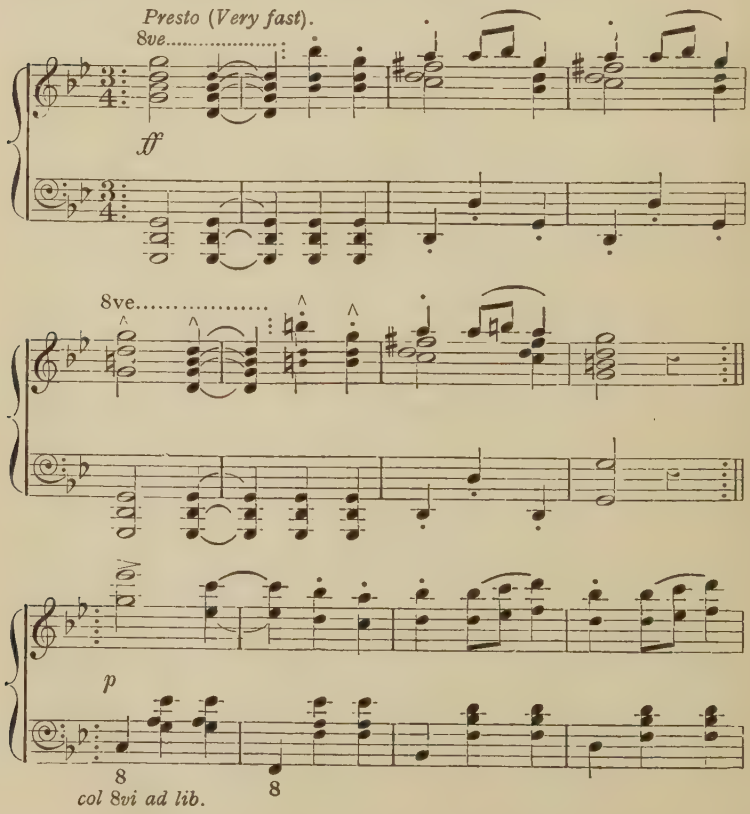
Brahms said of Dvořák: 'He 's never at a loss for an idea', and this is true; moreover the ideas have freshness, and it is impossible to hear the best works of Dvořák, as it is to hear the best works of Grieg, without being grateful for the nationalistic impulses which sent certain composers to their

[1] When at Cambridge, in 1891, to receive his Hon. Mus. Doc. (and to conduct his Fourth Symphony and his *Stabat Mater*) he indignantly refused a souvenir programme offered him, since in it he appeared not as 'Mr.' but as 'Herr' Dvořák (C.M.C. gives me this anecdote on the authority of the late Dr. Chas. Wood of Cambridge).

native folk-music for inspiration and so brought into music a welcome novelty and variety.

Novak (born 1870) and Suk (born 1874), the former Dvořák's successor as Professor of Composition at the Prague Conservatoire and the latter his son-in-law, are amongst the present representatives of the Czech national school.

For music which simply shouts 'Bohemia!' at you, we cannot do better than turn to those immensely popular *Slavonic Dances*, originally written as Piano Duets, by which Dvořák's position was established. Here is the beginning of a typical one (Op. 46, No. 8), one of the most ebullient.



Some of these Slav Dances are extraordinarily lazy and elegant (though without the artificiality which 'elegant' perhaps suggests). But most of them are of this high-spirited type. Note in this one, (1) the great speed; (2) the violent syncopation; (3) the contrast in the hurtling force of the opening and the buoyant flight of what follows—one might perhaps think of the career of an express train and the course of a greyhound; (4) the simplicity, the persistent reiteration, directly taken from primitive dance-music.

Scandinavia

Gade (1817–90), a Dane, was one of several Scandinavian composers with nationalistic aspirations. But in those days the thing was to go to the Leipzig Conservatoire for training, and this meant to return Germanized.

The short-lived Richard Nordraak (1842–66), a Norwegian, was more genuinely national. Edward Grieg met him in 1864, when they were respectively twenty-one and twenty-two, and said of the meeting, 'The scales fell from my eyes; it was through him that I learnt to know the popular songs of the North and even my own nature. We swore to keep clear of the effeminate Scandinavianism of Gade, mingled as it is with Mendelssohnianism, and we set out enthusiastically on the new road.' Nordraak and Grieg founded in Copenhagen the Euterpe Musical Society for the performance of Scandinavian works.

Gade and Grieg were always closely intimate, and at first Gade approved of Grieg, but when Grieg's second Violin and

Piano Sonata was performed, Gade came round to the artist's room and said, 'Dear Grieg, the next you must really make less Norwegian', to which Grieg replied, 'Dear Professor, the next will be more so'.

The titles of many of Grieg's minor works would be enough in themselves to show us his thoroughly nationalist aim—his *Norwegian Peasant March*, his *Norwegian Bridal Procession*, his *Wedding Day at Troldhaugen*, his *Norwegian Dances and Folk-Songs arranged for Piano*, his *Symphonic Dance on Norwegian Airs*, &c. His incidental music for his countryman, Ibsen's, play *Peer Gynt* is intensely Norwegian.

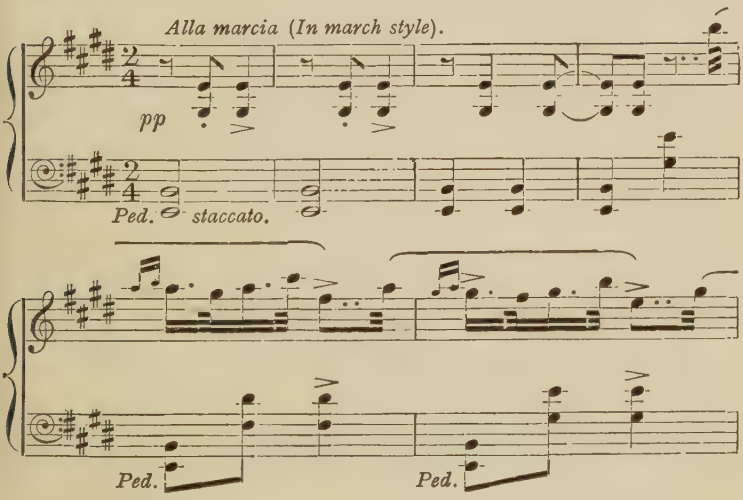
Grieg insisted that he was a Norwegian, not a Scandinavian, 'I am not an exponent of Scandinavian music, but only of Norwegian. The national characteristics of the peoples, the Norwegians, the Swedes, and the Danes are wholly different and their music differs just as much.' (Letter to *New York Times*.) When Norway was at length separated from Sweden in 1905, Grieg wrote, 'What has happened in our country this year seems like a fairy tale. The hopes and longing of my youth have been fulfilled. I am deeply grateful that I was privileged to see this.'

Yet Grieg was the protagonist not merely of Norwegian nationalism but of nationalism in general. He had soaked himself in Norwegian folk-tune, not so much to be enabled to use it as it stood (which he rarely did) as to acquire its spirit and idiom, and when Percy Grainger, in 1907, showed him his collection of English folk-tune he immersed himself in that, too, afterwards expressing the opinion, 'English folk-song is worthy of the honour of being lifted on to the level of Art, thus creating an independent English music. The folk-songs will doubtless be capable of forming the basis of a national style as they have done in other lands, those of the greatest musical culture not excepted.' He was deeply impressed with the earnestness and energy with which the English Folk-Song Society carried out its objects, and, altogether, showed

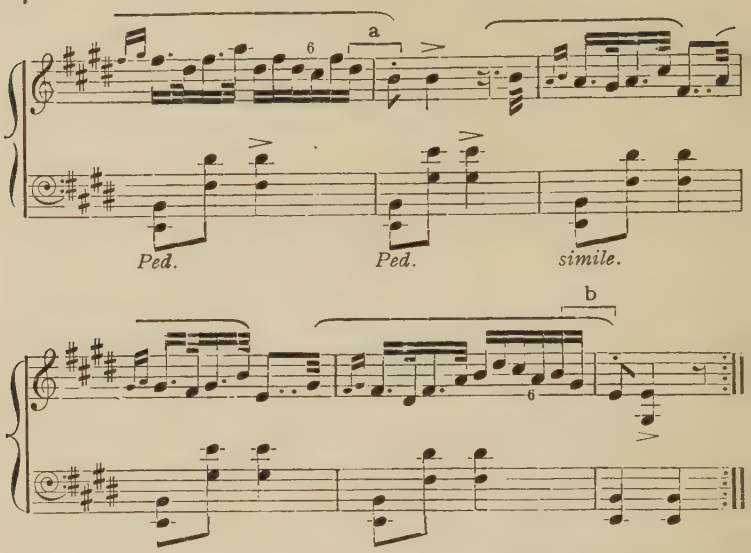
himself (as Dvořák did) a convinced believer not merely in the nationalistic movement but also in what has above several times been called the 'Back to the Land' movement. He resented the saying of some German critic, 'Grieg never remembered the ocean, but stuck to the fjord', and well he might, for if he did 'stick to the fjord', in such a piece as his Piano Concerto, he drew all the world into the fjord with him.[1]

A few typical turns of Griegian-Norwegian idiom may be quoted.

It would be hard to find a more characteristic example of this than the popular *Norwegian Bridal Procession*. In the very opening section (in which, indeed, the whole piece is crystalized), hardly one important feature is unrepresented, excepting Grieg's very personal harmony, and even of that one simple phase may be considered to be present.

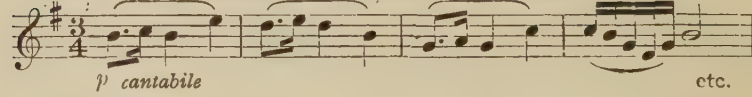


[1] A typical anti-nationalist criticism is that of Riemann, 'It is to be regretted that Grieg has imposed on his art the limits of national characterization, and that instead of the universal language, he speaks only a local dialect'. That stick would do to beat Sir Walter Scott or Dickens; theirs, too, is a 'local dialect'.



First, there is throughout the well-known Griegian open-fifth in the bass, derived from the playing of the Hardanger fiddle.[1]

Secondly, there is, at the end of each of the two sentences which make up this little paragraph of the tune, the typical little bursting into flower, which takes the form of sometimes a triplet, sometimes a quintuplet, sometimes, as here, a sextuplet. The very work which offended Gade (see page 174) has a notable example of this 'flowering', in the chief tune of the Second Movement. Where but in Grieg would one find such a phrase ending in such a way?



[1] It is an attractive picture. Grieg in a boat with his friend Rontgen and a player of the Hardanger Fiddle, Grieg listening with delight, nodding his head to the rhythm and holding in his hand a cup of wine, which every now and again he offers to the fiddler with a 'Skal'; exclaiming from time to time, '*This is Norway!*'

Finally, there is the drop from the seventh to the fifth of the scale, as marked at *a*, or from the third to the keynote, as at *b*. These drops often go with the 'flowering', but here is a different, equally characteristic, instance, from the First Subject of the Piano Concerto.

Other Norwegian composers have been Kjerulf (1815–68), Svendsen (born 1840), and Sinding (born 1856). (Brief references to the Norwegian violinist, Ole Bull, a great inspirer of the Norwegian school, who founded a National Theatre at Bergen and tried to found a Norse Conservatoire at Christiania, will be found on pages 161 and 196.)

In spite of what Grieg says, the differences between Norwegian, Swedish, and Danish music are not so great as to come within the scope of this book. Finnish music will, however, be found treated separately on pp. 188.

Russia

Russia had always teemed with music—folk-songs and folk-dances, in various styles in the various parts of the vast empire, often with an oriental tinge; and the music of the Greek

Church was of course prevalent everywhere. Opera and orchestral music were only heard in the larger cities; up to the earlier part of the nineteenth century the opera was usually Italian and the orchestral music German.

The rise of national feeling that followed Napoleon's retreat from Moscow in 1812 had at length an effect upon music, and in 1836 there was issued a nationalist musical manifesto—GLINKA'S opera *A Life for the Czar* was heard at St. Petersburg. It was the deliberate national effort of a composer trained by Italian and German teachers, and thus equipped with the current technique, reverting for his literary and musical subject-matter to the national legends and the folk-music by which in early life in the depths of the Russian countryside he had often been stirred. In its first forty-three years it had 500 performances, and when its fiftieth year came to be celebrated every opera-house in Russia performed it.

Nine years younger than Glinka was DARGOMIJSKY. He stands midway between the founder of Russian nationalism and the later group of downright nationalists of whom we are to hear in a moment as 'The Five'. Glinka directly influenced Dargomijsky, advised him, and helped him in his studies. The early works were not Russian in theme. Then, in *Russalka* appeared an operatic setting of a Russian legend. The poem of this was by the national poet, Pushkin, as was that of *The Stone Guest* which succeeded. Not very strongly Russian perhaps, in some features of his musical style, Dargomijsky yet went to his own national legends and literature for his subjects, and he was at least very anti-Italian in discarding in a great measure set melody, well-turned songs, and the like.

Followed the group of 'THE FIVE', who, banded together in the interests of musical nationalism, imbibed in varying degrees the notions of Glinka and Dargomijsky. They were:

Balakiref.
Cui.
Borodin.
Musorgsky.
Rimsky-Korsakof.

Biographical sketches of all these composers will be found at the end of the present chapter. Their activities may be said to have extended over the period from 1857, when Balakiref wrote his Fantasia on Three Russian Themes, for Piano and Orchestra, to 1918, when Cui, the last survivor of the band, died. We may then put the working life of this school at about sixty years.

Most of these composers were born and reared in the Russian countryside, and in early life soaked their receptive minds in Russian folk-lore and folk-song. Several of them were ardent folk-tune collectors, and published the results of their researches. They were greatly affected by Russian literature (especially by Pushkin) and by Russian legend. They took their opera plots almost entirely from Russian history or Russian fairy-tale, and they wrote orchestral tone-poems on similar themes. Their folk-tune interest was not confined to the products of their own people. Glinka had studied the national music of Spain and based two orchestral pieces upon it (see page 201), Balakiref wrote a Spanish Overture, similarly based, Rimsky-Korsakof wrote an Orchestral Fantasia on Serbian tunes. The oriental strain in Russian life and art is seen in the literary themes and musical style of many works, such as Balakiref's piano fantasia, *Islamey*, and his symphonic poem, *Thamar*, and Rimsky-Korsakof's Symphonic Suite, *Scheherazade*, and his Opera, *The Golden Cockerel*, to mention, almost at random, a few of the works most likely to have been heard by readers of this book.

The crudity and directness, the rapid and violent contrasts of feeling that are characteristic of the Russian temperament are often represented in the works of these composers. They were Russian not merely by intention to be Russian but also by intention to be sincere, which necessarily came to the same thing.

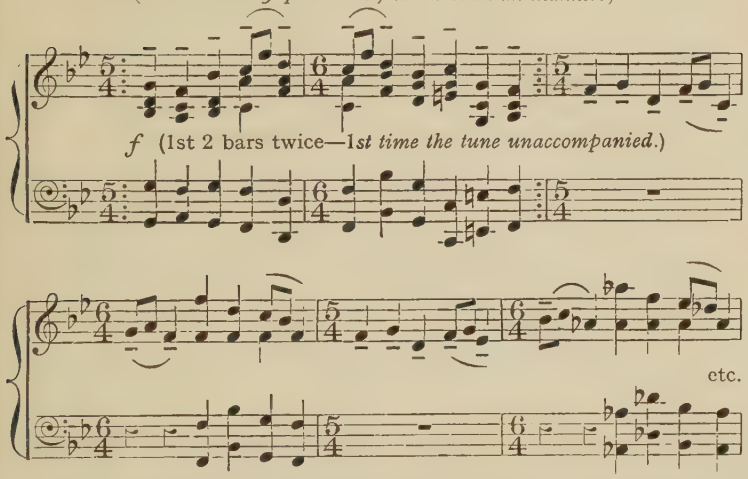
Russian as they were they could not, of course, have done what they did had they not been born into a period when

the Romantic Movement was in full swing. It was the pianistic genius of Liszt that made it possible for Balakiref to write his *Islamey*, and study of the 'programmatic' compositions of Liszt and Berlioz that made it possible for Borodin to write his *In the Steppes of Central Asia*, with its strings of approaching horses and camels, its desert immensities, and its army, whose cries and songs are at last lost in the distance. Romantic expression in music, 'programmatic' expression and national expression are all really parts of the one endeavour to attain a more definite self-revelation.

After the composers just mentioned came TCHAIKOVSKY, Russian in feeling yet more cosmopolitan in the forms he adopted, and then, with Glazounof, Liadov, Liapounov, Rachmaninov, Catoire, Glière, Medtner, and others, the specifically Russian character, though still often present, gradually weakened. Younger men, Scriabin and Stravinsky (to be considered later), were still Russian, the former especially in his open expression of violent emotion, and the latter especially in barbaric rhythms, use of the folk-element, orientalism and vivid colour. Taking it for all in all the Russian School has given the world the most definite and the largest-scale demonstration of the vivifying effect of nationalism that it has yet seen.

The Russian spirit is well expressed in Musorgsky's prelude to *Pictures at an Exhibition* (see page 205). This Movement binds the various Pictures together, recurring in varied forms. It is called *Promenade*, presumably representing the Composer's passing from one picture to another in the Exhibition. The character of Russian music is one of the hardest to analyse. There are in it uncompromising directness, simplicity, solidity, even squareness, though generally without awkwardness. Such characteristics in the melody of this example are tellingly emphasized by the accompaniment. Note also the typical rhythm—plain but unhackneyed.

Allegro giusto, nel modo russico.
(In conveniently quick time; in the Russian manner.)



It would not be right to leave the subject of the birth and growth of a Russian musical art without mention of the business man of the movement, Belaief (see page 207), who, by the foundation of concert enterprises, the offering of prizes for composition, the organization of a publishing firm, and the close personal support of individual composers of promise, enabled his countrymen to achieve more than would otherwise have been within their power.[1]

[1] E. E. makes some general criticisms of my treatment of the Russian composers, in considering which it will be necessary for the reader to consult not only the present chapter but also the biographical notices which follow. He says, 'As for Musorgsky, I do not think your treatment is at all commensurate with the immense significance which he has acquired as a forerunner of modern music. With regard to other Russian composers you fall into the common error of ascribing their Orientalism to racial heredity. The true explanation is the custom of spending holidays in the Crimea (where there were wandering bands of Tartar musicians) and, still more important, in the Caucasus, where some of them used to get native musicians to play to them. The Orientalism of Balakiref's *Thamar* and Rimsky-Korsakof's *Scheherazade* is entirely Caucasian—not innate but acquired like other folk-music by travelling. So are the 'Persian' dances in Musorgsky's *Khovanshchina*.

Spain

Spain is one of those countries that possess a very distinctively individual folk-music. Glinka's visit to Spain in 1845-6 (see page 201) had important consequences. He observed that Italian music ruled in cultured circles there as in Russia, yet that the one country, as the other, possessed a marvellously varied and abundant folk-music.[1]

The Spanish musicians' appreciation of their country's own folk-art has come later. In 1850 an association was formed to revive the Zarzuela, the traditional popular form of one-act comic opera. PEDRELL (1841–1922) collected folk-tunes, studied the works of the Spanish composers of the contrapuntal period, and as composer and teacher was active in awakening his countrymen's interest in their musical inheritance. Tenets of his were that every country's art music should be based upon its folk music and that national opera is national song developed on the scale of drama, i.e. is popular song raised to a higher power. ISAAC ALBENIZ (1861–1909), a fine pianist, and as such a pupil of Liszt, wrote Zarzuelas, Operas, and, especially, piano pieces, in which he made great play with the characteristic rhythms and melodic turns of various parts of Spain. The national instrument, the Guitar, had its influence upon the rhythms, harmonies, and melodies of composers.

GRANADOS, TURINA, and DE FALLA followed, and composed music every phrase of which was so distinctly national that heard in isolation it could not be taken as the product of any other country.

The due development of a Spanish musical art has been delayed by a musical inertia amongst the cultured classes, which to a large extent still remains.

The result of this has been twofold—Spain has been rather late in making her contribution to the national movement in

[1] It has been pointed out by Mr. Calvocoressi that the oriental element in both Spanish and Russian folk-music is a link probably to some extent accounting for Glinka's ready appreciation of the former.

music, and now that she has begun to do so what she contributes is often somewhat primitive, consisting of an incessant repetition of those highly rhythmic fragments of tune so characteristic of Spanish folk music. After her vivid and eventful history she is so many-sided, and these many sides are so clearly reflected in her music, that musical illustration cannot in this volume go beyond a mere suggestion of characteristics.

We may well pass over certain obvious, though strongly individual, dance-forms, such as the Tango,[1] which have popularly done duty with us as representing Spanish music. True, these *are* representative; but Spanish music has more remarkable, more subtle, more complex features than these. (There are musical distinctions, just as there are racial distinctions, between even the various districts of Spain; but we cannot follow these up in this brief sketch.)

One of the most important facts in Spanish music is that dance and song are almost inseparable—each element is almost always present. This is well seen in the *Seven Spanish Popular Songs* (*Siete Canciones populares Españolas*) which de Falla has edited; indeed, in one of these there are a greater number of bars of the dance element than of the actual voice part, and in almost all the two elements are either combined or alternated. In fact, almost all Spanish song is either in recitative-like manner or in strongly marked dance rhythm. At the same time, in our ideas of Spanish music we have taken too much account of the dance element, too little of the song element.

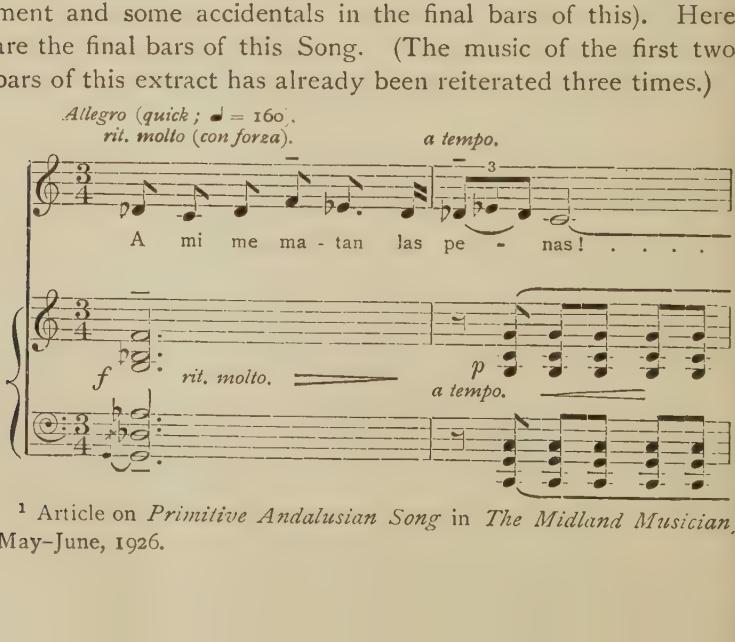
De Falla tells us that there are three main, vital influences from outside under which Spanish music has come: they are that of Byzantine church music, that of the Moorish invaders, and that of the gipsy settlers.

The chief results of these influences are (1) the use of many modes and scales which come from the East (and a few of which coincide with some of our Western pre-seventeenth-century modes); (2) the use of finer and more numerous

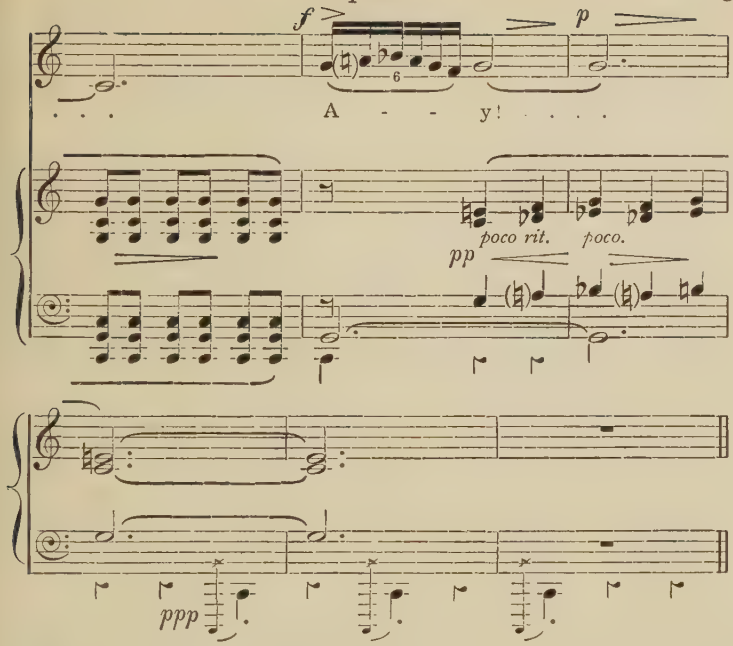
[1] Properly, Mexican.

tonal distinctions than the mere twelve semitones of our Western octave; and (3) the use of more or less rhapsodical turns, which, however, are, as de Falla says,[1] 'employed only in determinate moments as outbursts or expansions induced by the emotional force of the text', and which, therefore, we must regard 'more as expansive vocal inflexions than as ornamental flourishes, although they take this last aspect when the music is reduced to the geometrical intervals of the tempered scale'.

The second of these three points obviously cannot be shown in our modern Western notation. But of many possible examples of the influences of the first and third points in de Falla's own music, the *Song of Dolorous Love* (*Canción del Amor Dolido*) from his Ballet, *Love the Magician* (*El Amor Brujo*) seems to illustrate fairly well the first and third points. (Notice, in view of what has been said above, the presence of singing in de Falla's Ballets.) Throughout, a very characteristic mode, with the scale of C, D flat, E flat, F, G, A, B flat, is used consistently (though with some flat A's in the accompaniment and some accidentals in the final bars of this). Here are the final bars of this Song. (The music of the first two bars of this extract has already been reiterated three times.)



[1] Article on *Primitive Andalusian Song* in *The Midland Musician*, May–June, 1926.



There remains to be mentioned the most prevalent, most obvious of all features of Spanish music—the influence of the guitar. Every one is familiar with the Spanish guitar-strumming manner; what is less recognized is its important effect on harmony.

A single bar must suffice as an example of de Falla's development of this feature. It is from *The Three-Cornered Hat* (*El Sombrero de tres picos*), one of the Russian Ballet's most popular productions. On this one bar de Falla bases a whole passage of a dozen bars or so.

France

The music of France has been only very slightly influenced by the folk element.

French national characteristics have expressed themselves in their varying ways, with the effect of producing a surprising variety of musical feeling, such as the romantic Catholic religious mysticism of FRANCK and D'INDY, the tuneful sentimentalism of MASSENET, the verism of CHARPENTIER, the grace and apt melody of FAURÉ, the delicate impressionism of DEBUSSY, the light, well-turned wit of RAVEL, and so forth. The world's musical publics of to-day, though acquainted with a great deal of French music, have not, however, through it arrived at any clear conception as to the characteristics of French folk-song or folk-dance. Without hearing an actual specimen of folk-tune the concert-goer gets from later nineteenth-century Norwegian, Russian, Bohemian, and Spanish composers a very good idea of its characteristics in the countries of those composers, so that he would easily put into words a few significant facts concerning those characteristics. He could not do this for France.

A national movement dating from about 1870 has been the revolt against German influences and especially against Wagnerism; but that is negative, and the positive side of French nationalistic musical feeling is less definitely recognizable by the uninstructed because that feeling has never been focussed by any 'back-to-the-land' attempt, such as that of the countries previously mentioned.

Britain

Britain, though it has at least four very distinctive types of folk-music, the English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh, has until very lately contributed little to the nationalistic movement in music, except by helping to supply the initial impulse by the production of one of the first great collections of folk-poetry

(see page 166). Once the Elizabethan and Stuart periods were over, British composers ceased to show the possession of any strong individuality and consequently of any real nationality. Probably Schumann's allusion to Sterndale Bennett as one of those non-Germans who gave 'promise and performance that must lead them to be regarded as most worthy embodiments of the artistic tendency of their native lands', and as 'trying to speak their own musical language to their own nations', was due partly to his wish to make up a varied list as support of his general thesis and partly to his non-recognition in those early days of what nationalistic expression in music really meant. Schumann could recognize the difference between the Italian and the German mind in music, he could hear the Pole speaking in a Chopin Polonaise, or the Hungarian Gipsy in a Liszt Rhapsody, and a very little deviation from accepted German idiom in Gade or Bennett would make him, in his inexperience, think that he had got the authentic utterance of the national spirit of the countries from which those composers came.

The real development of British nationalism in music came a good deal later, when PARRY the Englishman (1848–1918), MACKENZIE the Scotsman (born 1847), and STANFORD the Irishman (1852–1924), in many of their works, made use of the musical folk-idioms of their respective countries and gave national and personal tendencies a freer range. The younger school, VAUGHAN WILLIAMS, HOLST, BAX, and others have gone still farther in the same direction, and there has even, at times, seemed to be a danger that devotion to folk-theme would, by excess, drift into a mere mannerism. The theory attributed to Pedrell (page 182) that every country's art-music should be based upon its folk-music arose independently in Britain and was very strongly maintained there during the first quarter of the present century. ELGAR has been a dissentient from this theory, adopting less obvious means of expressing his national feeling.

Finland

Reference has been made (page 165) to the part which political discontents played in the strengthening of national feeling and the bringing of it to a musical expression. Finland, a country of mixed Eastern and Western stock, with a mythology and folk-poetry of its own, conquered by Sweden in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and ceded to Russia in the early nineteenth century, maintained its desire for political independence and suffered cruelly under foreign rule.

SIBELIUS (born 1865) has in his music strongly expressed the sense of struggle and of gloom, as well as that of bold determination. His music combines the romantic tenderness and the vigour of the North, and without using actual folk themes he has been much influenced by the folk-melody and folk-rhythm of his native land. The literary subjects upon which he has based his work have been strongly national. The work of the Finnish poet-scholar, Lönrot (1802–84), in collecting from the life of the peasantry the scattered lines of the great national epic, the *Kalevala*, was one of the results of the folk-lore movement started by Bishop Percy in the previous century, and it had its part in bringing about a national music for Finland. 'It is hardly too much to say that Sibelius's music seldom gets away from the atmosphere of legend and rune. In idea, rhythm, turn of melody, colour of thought and orchestration, he keeps within touch of the magic halo which surrounds the *Kalevala* . . . the poem which sets forth the mythical history of the Finnish people, just as the *Nibelungenlied* sets forth the mythical history of the Teutonic nations' (D. H., in *Grove's Dictionary*, 2nd edition).

Italy

Italy has remained very much outside the nationalist musical movement of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Italy made a wonderful contribution to the music of that church

which has its headquarters in her capital. At the same period, largely out of her Renaissance poetry grew up the Madrigal. Towards the end of this period, the Opera and the Oratorio were introduced by the Italians—with the new vocal form of the Recitative. Then, as already recounted in Chapter XVII, the Italian love of vocal display and of easily understandable melody triumphed over the attempt to be dramatic, and Italian opera, a very national product, overspread the civilized world. In the opera of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Italy was very plainly expressing some of her national preferences. In a sense, she needed no national musical movement; it was rather the other nations that needed movements of rebellion against her domination.

A definite national musical movement came about in Italy in the first quarter of the twentieth century, when such men as Pizzetti (born 1880), Casella (born 1883), and Respighi (born 1879) initiated a demonstration against the one-sidedness and insularity of Italian musical activities, pleading for a more dramatic opera, a more definitely poetic song-style, and, above all, a cessation of the neglect of instrumental music in a nation that had once boasted a Corelli, a Domenico Scarlatti, a Vivaldi, and, through them and others, had exercised an influence upon Bach and the then rising German School.

Germany

In Germany the conscious nationalist movement was almost confined to a demonstration against Italian Opera (see Chapter XVII and the biographical sketches of Weber and Wagner). In Bach's time German composers had absorbed the influences of the Italian and French instrumental schools of that day, and had developed a national school of instrumental composition that was strong enough for its influence to overspread all other countries that were interested in instrumental music. Except in Opera, then, the Germans were, at the opening of the period with which this volume is concerned, able to cultivate a style

in consonance with their national temperament, and to do it without any beating of drums and flourishing of banners. They were nationalists (consider Schumann's very German type of romance), but hardly consciously so. They were in music a governing race and not a rebellious province, and so far from the later nineteenth-century German political nationalist movement (which bound its petty states into one great confederation and worked up feeling towards the Great War) stimulating national feeling in music, it rather used music as one of its existing proofs of the virtue of German national Kultur and as one of the justifications of the cry of 'Deutschland über alles'.[1]

There is no sign even now (1928) of any German nationalist movement in music, and indeed no such movement is needed, since, in the main, German music still represents the German temperament. Musically there is no 'conquered nation' feeling about Germany—and no justification for such a feeling.

Hungary

The population of Hungary is, of course, very mixed. What we now know as Hungarian music is probably a blend of the music of two races, Magyar and Gipsy, the latter being specially responsible for the elaborate melodic embellishments that characterize much of it. Liszt's twelve Hungarian Rhapsodies are based upon Hungarian melodies of various types. There are Hungarian influences in a good many works of non-Hungarians such as Haydn and Schubert. Brahms's Hungarian Dances give a very artistic treatment of Hungarian dance tunes. The Rákóczy March of Berlioz is a treatment of a tune which celebrated a national hero-king. Bela Bartók

[1] Properly, 'Deutschland über alles' means 'Germany *beyond* everything', not 'Germany *on top of* the world'. See its original use in von Fallersleben's poem of the eighteen-forties, where it is simply a finely worded aspiration for the unity of the German people, then politically divided. E. W. suggests that I make this clear.

(born 1881) has made a great collection of the folk-tunes of his native country; he has published many of them for practical use and has based compositions on some of them. At the period with which this chapter is chiefly concerned Hungary was prominently represented in music solely by Liszt.

LEADING NATIONALIST COMPOSERS

SMETANA

The Bohemian national school found its first great protagonist in Frederick Smetana (pronounced *Smet*ana), born in 1824 at Leitomischl, where his father was a brewer. Prague was the centre of his activities. He studied there, under Proksch, an able musician, and established himself there as a fashionable piano teacher. When the National Theatre was founded he became connected with it, at length becoming its principal conductor (1866), and producing there seven Operas of his own of strongly national interest (see page 170 as to their subject-matter). He wrote a series of six Symphonic Poems, with the general title, *My Fatherland*, and other works, and died in an asylum in 1884.

There was an interval of four years during which Smetana was absent in Sweden—as conductor of the Philharmonic Society of Gothenberg.

Smetana belonged to the school of 'The New Music'. He was a follower and friend of Liszt, and adopted wholeheartedly the new Lisztian form, the Symphonic Poem. Wagner to some extent influenced his operatic writing. But he retained his individuality. He himself described his operatic aims as the combination of the simplest melodies with carefully chosen harmonies, the whole work carried out upon a well-considered general scheme, and with a pervading unity throughout, such as would entitle the opera to be looked upon as one great symphony in close relation to a libretto.

Smetana was a good pianist. In addition to the works already mentioned, he wrote a certain amount of Piano Music. He also wrote a good deal of Choral Music. Amongst his Chamber Music is a String Quartet, *From my Life*, which descriptively follows the

experience of the composer's career. In the last Movement is a persistent high note which represents the peculiar and very painful form of ear-trouble which overtook him—a symptom of the malady which brought his life to an end.[1] Like Beethoven, Smetana wrote his most mature works with no possibility of ever hearing them.

Smetana's memory is revered amongst the Czechs, and, in 1924, the Centenary of his birth was made the occasion of great national rejoicings.

DVOŘÁK

Dvořák (1841–1904) was born, and in spirit ever remained, a Bohemian peasant. His father was the butcher and publican of a village on the Moldau, and he himself began his earning life as a butcher boy.

Dvořák.

His interest in music was aroused by his father's zither playing and by what he heard in his village from the travelling bands. He took to singing and to playing the violin, and later got some lessons on piano and organ.

In 1857, when he was sixteen, he went to Prague and became a pupil of the organ school belonging to the Bohemian Church Music Society. To keep himself he played the viola in cafés and the organ in a lunatic asylum. It was a time of poverty. He lacked money to buy books and music, to hire a piano, to attend concerts. 'As for Mozart and Beethoven, I only just knew that they existed.'

In 1862, when he was twenty-one, a great national event occurred. Smetana returned from his post in Sweden to help to establish the now famous National Theatre of Prague. Dvořák gained admission to the orchestra as a viola player. He spent a good deal of time in composition.

About ten years later he obtained a good position as church organist, gave up orchestral playing, and married. His orchestral

[1] Very similar to a symptom of Schumann's malady.

works began to get a hearing and an opera of his, *King and Collier*, was at last performed at the National Theatre. The Austrian Ministry of Fine Arts now gave him a small pension. Brahms, who was one of the inspectors appointed to examine his compositions, gave him great encouragement and helped him to a publisher. Dvořák now wrote the Slavonic Dances for Pianoforte Duet, the melody and spirit of which caught everybody's attention, so that his name became European.

The *Stabat Mater* made Dvořák known in England, and the various English musical festivals began to give performances of his music under his own conductorship, and sometimes to commission new works.

For three years (1892–5) he was in New York as head of the National Conservatoire. Then he returned to Prague, and a few years later became head of the Conservatoire there.

He died in 1904. An example of his music has been given under 'Bohemia', pages 172–3.

A touch of negro influence comes into three or four of Dvořák's works as a result of his stay in America. One such work is the popular *New World* Symphony, where, although there are no actual negro themes, there are a number of themes that suggest the negro idiom. Dvořák deliberately adopted the view that 'the inspiration for truly national music might be derived from the Negro melodies or Indian chants'. 'What songs belong to the American and appeal more strikingly to him than any others? . . . The most potent as well as the most beautiful amongst them, according to my estimation, are certain of the so-called plantation melodies, and slave songs, all of which are distinguished by unusual and subtle harmonies,[1] the thing which I have found in no other songs but those of Scotland and Ireland.'

This view has been much discussed. If nationalism in music implies the exploitation of the idioms of one's own race, then work by white composers based upon negro idioms would not be an instance of nationalism. It would, however, offer an escape from accepted conventions as a 'back to the land' movement. It would

[1] This word is probably a mistranslation on the part of somebody who prepared Dvořák's statement for American publication.

be somewhat analogous to the study of Spanish national idiom by certain members of the Russian school, a study which helped to free them from current German influence and so to enable them to 'find themselves'. The nationalistic movement in music, as we have seen, is plainly two things at one time. It is a search for racial expression, and also for primitive inspiration.

After his first Opera, *King and Collier*, mentioned above, Dvořák wrote seven other operas, including *The Water-Nymph* (*Rusalka*). Other important, and sometimes extremely popular, works of his not yet mentioned are the Overtures *Carnival*, *My Home* (*Mein Heim*), *Nature* (*In der Natur*), and *Othello*; a Violin Concerto and a 'Cello Concerto; a String Sextet, a Piano Quintet, eight notable String Quartets (including the popular *Nigger* Quartet, in connexion with which see the foregoing remarks on negro influence),[1] three Piano Trios, and Dumky (plural of Dumka) for Piano Trio; a Sonata, a Sonatina, a Ballade, &c., for Violin and Piano; quite a number of Piano Solos and Duets, which should be better known than they are; five or six biggish choral works (including the immensely popular though gruesome *Spectre's Bride*); and many good Songs and Part Songs. (The well-known *Songs my Mother taught me* is one of his *Zigeunerlieder*, or *Gipsy Songs*.) Other works include seven Symphonies, of which we sometimes hear the Fourth. The Symphony *From the New World* is the Fifth.[2]

Among Dvořák's gifts, either national or individual, are characteristic harmony, a remarkable, fresh, vital use of the orchestra, and a real genius for chamber music for strings.

SUK

Joseph Suk was born at Krecovie in Bohemia in 1874. He became a very fine violinist, and (at seventeen) one of the founders of the soon world-famous Bohemian String Quartet.

He studied composition under Dvořák, whose daughter he married.

[1] E. W. points out that the *name* 'Nigger' often given to this quartet was not authorized by either the composer or his publisher.

[2] E. W. pleads for mention of the second in D minor, 'far and away Dvořák's orchestral masterpiece, on lines that he seldom attempted'.

She died early, and his thoughts on his loss of her and of her father inspired a Symphonic Poem, *Azrael* (i. e. the Angel of Death). He also sought consolation in nature, and this also inspired some of his compositions. In the effort to approach nature more nearly he became, in a small way, a farmer.

Suk's earlier compositions are influenced by Dvořák's style; he later escaped from it and became freer both in rhythm and in harmony, sometimes approaching atonality.

GRIEG

The chance effects of political events upon art would make too long a list for any one to undertake its compilation. In 1746 the fate of the Stuarts was finally decided at the Battle of Culloden. That brought into existence an oratorio, wherein the composer, Handel, whilst professedly praising the goodness of God and the patriotism of an ancient Jewish hero-warrior, Judas Maccabaeus, was really celebrating the triumphant butchery of a victorious German-English general, the notorious Duke of Cumberland. The Duke's final defeat of the Young Pretender gave a great stimulus to popular musical balladry in which the romantic Highland spirit expressed its loyalty to its traditional ruling house, and it sent to Norway a Fraserburgh merchant named Greig, who still kept up his connexion with his native land by an annual visit to take part in the Communion of his Presbyterian fathers, and whose son and grandson maintained the link by serving in succession as British Consuls of Bergen. Edward Grieg the composer was a son of this grandson of the exiled merchant,[1] and thus possessed a one-eighth proportion of Aberdeenshire blood, and also a touch of romance in his ancestry which he valued

Grieg.

[1] The spelling of the name had been changed, so as to secure the correct pronunciation.

and which perhaps had a little influence upon his temperament and hence upon his composition.

Grieg's mother was a Hagerup, a member of a notable Bergen family. The music in his nature came from her. She had studied in Hamburg and London, and, as a semi-professional, played the piano in important Bergen concerts. She began to teach him the same instrument when he was six. She loved Mozart, Weber, Mendelssohn, and Chopin, but whilst she easily awakened his enthusiasm for the music of these and other composers she was not able to overcome a repugnance for steady work that in boyhood seemed a part of Grieg's nature. However, he made some progress as a pianist and experimented in composition. Poetry was a passion with the boy, and he had a childish desire to gild his life with glory by becoming a pastor and shaking the world with pulpit oratory.

The definite turning towards music came with the appearance in his parents' home one day of Ole Bull, the world-famous Norwegian violinist, whose concert triumphs and travelling adventures had made him, in his lifetime, a national legendary figure. Ole Bull looked over some of the attempts at composition and urged the necessity of a cultivation of the native talent he sensed in them.

This was in 1858, when the boy was fifteen. The Leipzig Conservatoire, founded by Mendelssohn in the year of Grieg's birth, fifteen years before, and probably equipped with the best musical educational staff in the world, was pointed at by Bull and by ordinary common sense as the proper institution in which to seek a thorough training, and thither Grieg was now sent.

Not all Grieg's teachers at Leipzig won his equal allegiance. There was the celebrated pianist, Moscheles, appointed by Mendelssohn and admirer of his whilst antagonistic to the music of Mendelssohn's contemporaries, Schumann (a former professor of the Conservatoire, by the way), and Chopin. There was the great E. F. Richter, theorist and writer of text-books, who taught harmony very strictly by rule and struck out of his pupils' exercises whatever did not conform thereto. There were professors who looked upon the rising Wagner even less favourably than Mendelssohn and Schumann had done, thinking him a dangerous revolutionary. But there were other teachers more discerning and, as an incentive to

overcome his natural laziness, there was the example (which he afterwards gratefully recalled) of certain hard-working English youths, Franklin Taylor, John Francis Barnett, Walter Bache, and Arthur Sullivan.

The Leipzig training completed, Grieg returned to the North. He settled for a short time in Copenhagen, the birthplace and residence of the Danish composer, Gade, then looked up to as the leader of a Scandinavian School of composition, though now his music sounds to us like that of a somewhat weakened Mendelssohn born in the North and hence with some tendency to the use of northern colour.

Of Gade 'in his best works' Grieg was always an admirer, and he owed to him, in part at any rate, the determination to allow national character to shine through cosmopolitan training.

Soon, leaving Denmark, Grieg returned to Norway, settling in its capital, Christiana. Here he founded a Musical Union, whose conductor he remained for thirteen years. He was in frequent touch with Ole Bull, associating much, also, with Richard Nordraak, another very loyal Norwegian musician and cousin of the Norwegian author, Björnson, and with Kjerulf, nearly thirty years Grieg's senior and one of the first genuine Norwegian nationalist composers. Svendsen, violinist, conductor and composer, and also a Norwegian, was another friend.

In 1864 Grieg married a partly Danish bride, his cousin, Nina Hagerup, a good singer and the daughter of a famous Danish actress. (In later years she was to do much for his songs by her sympathetic treatment of them.)

In 1868, when Grieg was twenty-five, came a letter from the ever-generous Liszt. He had by chance seen the First Sonata for Violin and Pianoforte (Op. 8) and spontaneously wrote to congratulate and encourage its composer and to invite him to visit him. The letter was an asset. It turned out to have definite financial value. On the strength of it the Norwegian Government made Grieg a grant, to enable him to visit Rome, where at last he met Liszt in person. Liszt especially approved the national characteristics of the young composer's music; it was passages embodying these that most definitely caught his fancy. The Piano Concerto was now in exis-

tence—in manuscript. Liszt took the copy to the piano, played it, combining solo and orchestral parts in masterly fashion, and handed back the manuscript with the words—'Continue in your path; you have the right stuff in you and—let nobody intimidate you!' This encouragement, often recalled, was of permanent effect.

Into Grieg's life henceforth there enters very strongly the influence of some of the nationalist writers of Norway. With Björnson he was in close relations and with Ibsen he was brought into actual collaboration in 1874, when he received a letter from him asking him to write the incidental music to the play *Peer Gynt*. How splendidly the commission was accomplished all the world knows if only from the later recasting of some of the music into the shape of two *Peer Gynt* Suites. Occasional opportunities of hearing the play, with the music, also occur, and offer a perfect proof of the delicate poesy and romance and also of both the genuine national feeling and the high technical equipment of the Composer.

For some years Grieg lived in a country place on the Norwegian coast, working day after day, and summer and winter, in a little wooden hut just big enough to contain a stove, a piano, and a composer. Then he built a villa near his native Bergen, and there, with fairly frequent conducting and performing tours, he steadily worked on. His constitution was frail, and he suffered a good deal of bad health. He got many invitations to visit America, but did not feel himself equal to the strain. His music brought him in a fair income, but, as he once complained, Lehar made as much out of his operetta, 'The Merry Widow', as he himself made out of a whole lifetime's composition.

A notable incident in Grieg's life was the stand he made on the Dreyfus case. The injustice of the verdict aroused his indignation. In reply to an invitation from Colonne to take part in a Paris concert he wrote that he was at such a time 'unable to enter into relations with the French public'. Colonne sent Grieg a most proper letter in return, to which Grieg replied suitably (with some allusion to the 'abominable letters' he daily received from the French public). All this was in 1899. Four years later Colonne renewed the invitation and it was accepted. Grieg duly conducted in Paris, before going on the stage taking five drops of opium 'which had a remarkably

calming effect!' The audience had not taken opium and was not very calm: there were two parties, of which the friendly one happily turned out to be the stronger. Police protection was provided for Grieg on leaving. The courageous spirit that ruled the frail body was fully revealed both in the 1899 refusal to visit Paris and in the 1903 acceptance of the invitation.

In 1907 Grieg was to pay one of his visits to England to play and conduct at the Leeds Festival. On the eve of setting out he fell ill and was taken to a hospital. 'This, then, is the end', he said as he entered it, and so it turned out. He died a few days later.

Grieg was buried in a grotto, high up a wall of cliff which juts out into the fiord within sight of his home Troldhaugen. The mouth of the grotto was walled up, the words 'Edward Grieg' cut upon the stone, and there his ashes were left, in this simplest and most appropriate of all resting places, and one he had himself chosen.

The reception of Grieg's music by the public was usually cordial. From brother musicians and professional music critics it was sometimes less so. Partly no doubt this was because so many of his compositions were slight in length and in scope. He never wrote a Symphony[1] or an Opera. But he wrote one Concerto, one String Quartet[2] and five Sonatas (one for Piano, three for Violin and Piano, and one for 'Cello and Piano). His many songs were such as any one could appreciate and much of his Piano music was such as amateur pianists could play. 'It is surely no fault of mine that my music is heard in third-rate hotels and from schoolgirls', the Composer once wrote. Perhaps the case of Grieg is unique in that he introduced a decidedly new note into music and yet at once won popular approval. His music has been illustrated under 'Scandinavia', pages 175–7.

Although keenly resenting the ill-based criticism to which he was often subjected, to the end he was modest in his claims. In the very year of his death he wrote, 'What I have accomplished, in large works and small, signifies to me personally a continuous develop-

[1] Save a juvenile unpublished one, written at Gade's instance, of which two movements exist as the Op. 14—Two Symphonic Pieces for Piano Duet.

[2] And an unfinished second one.

ment, and yet, unfortunately, I am conscious that I have never yet reached what I have been striving after. So to-day I cannot name a single work as decidedly a front-rank composition.' That, however, perhaps only represents a passing mood, and certainly many readers remembering the Piano Concerto, will dissent.

GLINKA

Glinka was born in 1804, on the country estate of his father. An uncle in the neighbourhood maintained a private orchestra, in whose performances the boy revelled, as he did also in the folk-music he heard in plenty.

Early piano lessons were taken from a governess, later ones, in St. Petersburg, from the Irishman, Field. On return to his country house, the youth made good use of his uncle's orchestra, rehearsing it in some of the orchestral classics, and in this way pushing forward his practical studies.

For a few years Glinka held a civil service position in St. Petersburg; then, at twenty-four, he gave this up and, financially supported by his family, devoted himself entirely to music.

At twenty-six, for reasons of health, he visited Italy. For a year he studied at Milan, making the acquaintance of Bellini and Donizetti and hearing Italian operas under the best conditions.

At twenty-nine he went to Germany, to study, at Berlin, under Dehn, a famous teacher of composition. He had a definite object in view, to acquire the technique to enable him to write a real Russian opera.

Back in Russia, he set to work at his opera. He took a thoroughly national subject—that of the invasion of Russia by the Poles in 1613. At thirty-two he heard his opera performed—*A Life for the Czar*. It has some Italian influences remaining (being lyrical in style) but enough folk-influence to provoke a few of the ultra-respectable to complain of the humble origin of some of the music. Some of the music in the Polish scenes is written in the rhythms of the national Polish dances, the Polonaise and the Mazurka. This work came in time to be accepted as a musical symbol of Russian nationality, and thus to enjoy a huge popularity.

The next opera, *Russlan and Ludmilla*, had a more Oriental tinge. It was based upon a fanciful folk-poem, by the Russian national poet, Pushkin, an older contemporary of Glinka. The work was not a success, and, nettled, the Composer decided on a further sojourn abroad. This had important consequences, since two years of it were spent in Spain, where, besides writing an orchestral work of very Russian character, on a folk theme *Kamarinskaya*, he made a close study of Spanish folk-music, and basing upon it two other orchestral works, *Jota Aragonese* and *A Summer Night in Madrid*, supplied the inspiration which has led to similar studies and compositions by native Spanish composers.

Glinka's contribution to music was welcomed by the Romantic composers of the day. Berlioz, in his capacity of music critic, praised him, and in return Glinka did something to gain a footing in Russia for Berlioz's music. Meyerbeer, too, admired his work. It was at a concert of Glinka's works in Berlin, arranged by Meyerbeer, that Glinka caught a chill which led to his death in his fifty-third year.

Liszt, too, greatly encouraged Glinka. It will be realized that Glinka's activity was looked upon by some of the leading Romantic composers of the period as that of a sort of Russian branch of the Romantic Movement, and, as has been made evident in the preceding chapter, Nationalism is, in itself, essentially an offshoot of Romanticism.

There is in Glinka's work a new rhythmic freedom. Five or seven beats to a bar are common. For some time this remained a Russian characteristic, though nowadays it is common enough everywhere. Glinka died in 1857.

DARGOMIJSKY

Like Glinka, and only nine years later, Dargomijsky was born on a Russian country estate. He early showed musical talent, and received training in Piano, Violin, and Harmony and Counterpoint.

As an amateur, popular in St. Petersburg drawing-rooms, Dargomijsky composed songs and other music, occupying meantime a position in the civil service.

Then he met Glinka, who inspired him with a desire to shake off the dilettante and put him upon the way towards a mastery of the technique of composition.

The Romantic Movement in French literature was in full swing. Influenced by it Dargomijsky first made an attempt at an opera based on Hugo's *Lucrezia Borgia*, and then, abandoning this, at another on the same author's *Notre Dame de Paris*. The style of this latter work, *Esmeralda*, was French rather than Russian. It had to wait long for a hearing, and then, at length, won success both at St. Petersburg and Moscow.

Russalka which followed, was at least Russian in literary theme, being based upon Pushkin's treatment of a national legend of a water-sprite.

About 1865, Dargomijsky came into touch with a group of younger men. He was then in his fifties; they were only in their varying twenties. They were already his admirers, but they held views which, had Wagner's music and his theories been much known in Russia at the period, would perhaps have been called Wagnerian. They wanted dramatic fitness before musical charm and one might almost say that the only thing Wagner wanted and they did not was a high orchestral development, for they attached more importance to the vocal treatment.[1]

With the definite intention of carrying into effect the principles laid down by this group of bold young thinkers, 'The Five' as they came to be called (see page 178), Dargomijsky began to set as an opera Poushkin's *The Stone Guest*. During its composition he died (1869, aged fifty-six); two members of the group of 'The Five', authorized by him on his death-bed, completed the work. It has never been a great success, lacking sustained melody—'a recitative in three acts' it has been called, and, as such, very different from anything of Glinka's.

In addition to his operatic works, Dargomijsky wrote a large number of songs (he had a thorough understanding of the voice and the problems of musical declamation); and also some orchestral

[1] We might make this sort of a distinction perhaps—Dargomijsky and his friends wanted music-drama; Wagner (whatever his intentions, and the word he coined) wrote, rather, drama-music.

pieces. One of the latter is *Baba Yaga*, a fantasia based on native legend.

BALAKIREF

Glinka and Dargomijsky were men of some means. So was Balakiref. In fact none of the earlier Russian composers were members of the musical profession, in the usual sense of the words, all either enjoying some family income or else earning their living apart from their music. Balakiref was born in 1837. His mother taught him music. Like Glinka he enjoyed the advantages of close acquaintance with peasant music, and again like him the other advantage of experimenting with a private orchestra (that of his friend Oulibichef, a country gentleman who is known to musical history especially as a writer on Mozart). Perhaps partly through Oulibichef's influence he acquired a minute and extensive knowledge of the musical classics.

Then, too, he came in touch with Glinka, the great founder of Russian musical nationalism, who saw him as the Elisha to his own Elijah. Balakiref composed a piece for piano and orchestra on Russian tunes, and a fantasia on a tune from *A Life for the Czar*. Glinka gave him a Spanish tune (see page 201) and he made an Overture out of it. He also wrote a symphonic poem called *Russia*.

He started in St. Petersburg an institution that was to have a great part in the promulgation of nationalistic ideals, the Free School of Music, and, similarly, he started a series of concerts at which might be given more progressive programmes than those usual at the period.

Balakiref may be looked upon as the founder of the group of 'The Five' (*alias* the 'Mighty Little Heap', *alias* 'The Invincible Band'), consisting of himself, Rimsky-Korsakof, Borodin, Musorgsky, and Cui (see page 178). It is of the nature of a group of this sort to disintegrate, and so it was in the present instance; during the last forty years of his life Balakiref lived, indeed, a very solitary and retired life.

Liszt encouraged Balakiref. Far and wide he played Balakiref's great Russian-oriental virtuoso Piano Fantasia, *Islamey*, and Balakiref dedicated to him his Russian-oriental Symphonic Poem, *Thamar*.

Balakiref never wrote an Opera. He started one and then abandoned it.

He died in 1910.

BORODIN

Borodin (1834–87) earned his living as a Professor of Chemistry and a medical man, holding many official posts, and, indeed, did more than earn his living at these occupations, since he made several valuable researches in chemistry and helped to found a women's medical school.

At twenty-eight, as a keen but uninstructed musical amateur, he came in touch with Balakiref, and at once became a member of his circle. He studied and composed with diligence, but complained that, owing to his professional work he could get serious work done only when unwell. (He tells us somewhere that all his musical works were written when he was suffering the inconveniences and discomforts of a bad cold in the head.) The complete list of his works only runs to twenty-one.

Liszt appreciated Borodin and encouraged him greatly, and Borodin wrote an account, later published, of his experiences in the Liszt circle at Weimar. His works include two Symphonies (and part of a third), the Symphonic Sketch *In the Steppes of Central Asia*, two String Quartets, Piano pieces, Songs, and the Opera, *Prince Igor* (left unfinished and completed by Rimsky-Korsakof and Glazounof).

Borodin's death was sudden, unexpected, and deplored. At a party, dressed in national costume, he fell down dead. Though in many works strongly national in feeling, Borodin is not, in his forms and the style he adopts, so drastically Russian as some other members of the circle of 'The Five'. He did not emulate the recitative-like style of Dargomijsky. He loved melody and preferred bold outlines to details.

MUSORGSKY

Musorgsky (1839–81) was first an army officer, then a civil servant. Like some others of the Russian pioneers he got his first inspiration from Russian folk-music heard as a child. He early came in contact

with Dargomijsky, who encouraged and influenced him, and all his life he strove to apply the Dargomijsky principles. He loved not 'art for art's sake', so much as 'art for life's sake'; he was not much of a theorist and believed in intuition rather than training; he sought truth before beauty in musical representation. He was in fact one of the most determined musical 'realists' who ever lived; his country upbringing having given him a strong bias towards folk-lore he was strongly influenced by it in the literary subjects he chose for his compositions. He was almost Tolstoyan in his view that art should appeal to the many, not to the few. In the operas *Boris Godounof* and *Khovanshchina* he took subjects from national history His songs are strongly characteristic of his mind : they are sardonic, humorous or tender, and always go straight to the mark. Some orchestral pieces exist (the best known being the Symphonic Poem, *Night on the Bare Mountain*), and some piano pieces, *Pictures at an Exhibition* (see page 180), in which he tries to express in tone the emotional content of nine or ten paintings by the Russian, Hartmann.

Musorgsky.

Musorgsky was one of 'The Five' and for a time he lived with Rimsky-Korsakof. But he was not a very 'clubbable' man. He was very irritable and excitable, became slovenly and careless, drank and drugged, and died in a hospital on the forty-second anniversary of his birth.

Musorgsky has been chosen to illustrate 'Russia' in this book see pages 180–1).

RIMSKY-KORSAKOF

Like Balakiref, Rimsky-Korsakof was born and reared in the country, and like him he enjoyed the double advantage of an early soaking in folk-songs and the enjoyment of a household band of musicians—a small one, in Rimsky-Korsakof's case, merely a group of four Jews living on his father's estate, but enough to set his childish musical imagination at work.

Balakiref was a man of means, Cui a soldier, Musorgsky first a soldier and then a civil servant, Borodin a scientist, and Rimsky-Korsakof a sailor, as a young naval officer going on long voyages and studying music between watches. At eighteen (he was born in 1844, so this was in 1862) he was engaged in a three-years' cruise. He had already come into touch with Balakiref, and from port to port he sent to him work he had done, and received from him suggestions as to its improvement. The first symphony Russia ever produced was written under these conditions.

Rimsky-Korsakof.

This Symphony was later (1871) one of the causes of his being offered the post of Professor of Composition at the St. Petersburg Conservatoire, and another was the Symphonic Poem, *Sadko*, an orchestral setting of a legend of the sea. The young sailor felt himself unfitted for the post, since he had never himself undergone any systematic theoretical training, yet he accepted it, and by diligent study equipped himself for the duties. Indeed he made himself the best theorist of 'The Five'.

Rimsky-Korsakof was a prolific composer. He wrote fifteen Operas (including *Ivan the Terrible*,[1] *Sadko*, *The Snow Maiden*, *Kitej*, and *The Golden Cockerel*), three Symphonies, a Symphonic Suite *Schehera-zade*, Chamber Music, Piano Music, Choral Music, Songs, &c., and also text-books of Harmony and of Orchestration. As he wrote the first Russian Symphony so also he wrote the first Russian Symphonic Poem—*Sadko* (related to the Opera above-mentioned).

Though a strong nationalist, as the subject of his operas and their musical material equally show, Rimsky-Korsakof was not a revolutionary. He shared a dwelling for some time with Musorgsky, but did not share his views. He did not fully accept the Dargomijskean principles as to the texture of music; he willingly wrote an extended tune. He was a great collector of Russian folk-tune, but also a

[1] The Composer's own name for this was *The Maid of Pskof* and so it is called in Russia.

great student of the methods of the classic composers, and a sound and systematic teacher of the young. Much of his work is the expression of a strong dramatic impulse and it both throbs with vital rhythm and glows with vivid orchestration.

When the weakening influence of time broke up the Balakiref circle, 'The Five', Rimsky-Korsakof, who had been one of its most devoted members, became the centre of a new circle with similar aims, Belaief (see page 181) and Glazounof being prominent members.

Rimsky-Korsakof died in 1908.

At least one of Rimsky-Korsakof's greatest claims to a prominent place in the history of music is as an orchestrator. He is the successor of Berlioz, and the founder (if, indeed, Berlioz himself was not) of the instrumentation of Stravinsky and of all moderns except a few who still cling to the now overripe classic-and-romantic German musical outlook (as does, it might quite well be argued, Richard Strauss). From this outlook the orchestra is regarded as a mass, rather than as a collection of individuals to be bound into unity.

Rimsky-Korsakof treats every instrument with the respect due to a soloist—to an individual. In fact, he makes every instrument speak in its own tongue almost as tellingly as does Berlioz. His Treatise on Instrumentation is already almost a classic.

CUI

The long-lived César Cui (born in 1835, died in 1918), was half French, his father having been left, wounded, in Russia at the time of Napoleon's retreat. The son entered the Russian Army, became an authority on fortification, and attained the rank of General. He early joined the group of 'The Five' and was one of its leading members. Born in the same year as Saint-Saëns, he had an almost equally long life, was equally chauvinistic in principle, and equally cosmopolitan in practice. He wrote many Operas (*not* on Russian subjects as a rule), Songs, and Piano Pieces, and also many critical articles. It is his part as one of the leaders of the circle of 'The Five', rather than any strong individuality in his composition, that has given him his place in the history of music.

TCHAIKOVSKY

Tchaikovsky (born 1840) was the son of a civil servant and began his own active life as a civil servant too. Previously interested in music in an amateur way, at twenty-one he began to study it seriously. At twenty-three he dropped his government work and, in poverty, gave himself up to the art. His study was carried out chiefly at the St. Petersburg Conservatoire under Anton Rubinstein, and it was at length followed by a period as Professor of Harmony at Moscow Conservatoire under Nicholas Rubinstein, to whose support Tchaikovsky was for long much indebted.

Tchaikovsky.

When about twenty-eight, Tchaikovsky came under the influence of Balakiref and Rimsky-Korsakof, but he was never a member of the group of 'The Five', nor was he in full sympathy with the aims of that group. He is often spoken of as no true Russian composer, yet the romantic attractions and violent antipathies of his life, the gleams of riotous gaiety and clouds of gloom are represented in his art by contrasts just as violent, and are as typically Russian as the temperament of any hero or heroine in the novels or plays of Tchekhov. *Au fond* Tchaikovsky is perhaps conventional, but that is a matter of the quality of his music, not of its character. Very Russian was his marriage, which was followed by a separation after only nine weeks. And very Russian, too, in its apparent eccentricity, was the strange relationship with the music-loving rich widow, Nadejda von Meck, whom he never once met, yet who became and remained for many years his best friend, sustaining him with a yearly allowance sufficient to enable him to give his mind to composition, encouraging him by an incessant correspondence, and giving him hospitality, in her own absence, on her country estate.

Once success had come to Tchaikovsky his time was divided between short concert tours to different parts of Europe and long stays at a small country house he had bought, where he lived the

solitary and restful life his nervous temperament found congenial. He paid one visit to the United States.

At fifty-three, Tchaikovsky, to the dismay of friends who were present, imprudently drank unboiled water. Within a week he was dead of cholera.

In Britain and America Russian music first became known to the large public not through the works of the pioneers but through those of Tchaikovsky. His melodic vein, brilliant orchestral colour, and strong emotional expression, quickly captured the ear of concert audiences. Amongst his works are ten Operas, six Symphonies, Symphonic Poems, Suites, three Piano Concertos, a Violin Concerto, Ballets, Chamber Music, and a great many Songs and Piano Pieces.

ALBENIZ

Isaac Albeniz was a Catalonian. He was born in 1861, and died in 1909. He made his first public appearance as a pianist at the age of four, and at the age of about seven competed for admission to the Paris Conservatoire, but after successfully passing the tests broke a mirror in play and had the bad luck to be declared too young for admission. At eleven he was touring America as a recitalist. He then studied for a short time at the Conservatoires of Leipzig and Brussels. His whole youth was adventurous and unsettled, but he won great fame as a pianist, obtaining the approval and help of Liszt and Rubinstein. He was notable for his performance of the classics.

After a time he almost abandoned piano-playing for composition, in which he was very prolific. At thirty he began careful study in Paris under d'Indy and Dukas. He composed innumerable Piano pieces (many of them very difficult and some of them needlessly so), four or five Operas and Operettas, and other things. He succeeded both in giving Spanish composers faith in their own national musical style and in leaving the world some music (e. g. his *Iberia* Suite, twelve piano pieces) of that much needed kind which satisfies the connoisseur by its taste and the skilfulness of its construction and the more 'popular' public by its charm of melody and harmony and its rhythmic vivacity.

Albeniz passed some years of his life in London, where he produced several stage works, gave lessons, and published a good deal of effective drawing-room music.

GRANADOS

Like Albeniz, Granados was a Catalonian. He was born in 1867, and lost his life by the sinking of the *Sussex* by a German submarine when on his way home from America in 1916.

As a composer Granados profited by the teaching of Pedrell (see page 182); as a pianist by that of several Spanish masters and of Charles de Bériot (son of the famous violinist and the teacher of Ravel also) in Paris. His skill in the latter capacity was very high, and made him well known in France and Spain. The influence of Albeniz is seen in his compositions, but there is a peculiar simplicity about his work in its comparative lack of both contrapuntal interest and harmonic variety. It abounds, however, in piquant rhythms and melodic touches, drawn from the folk music of various parts of Spain. His set of Piano Pieces, *Goyescas*, is based upon pictures of the great Spanish painter Goya (1746–1828); out of these he later fashioned an Opera of the same name—a strange proceeding. It was in returning from New York, where his Opera had had its first performance, that he lost his life as above recounted.

DE FALLA

De Falla was born at Cadiz in 1876, and became a pupil in composition of Pedrell (see page 182). From his thirty-first year to his thirty-eighth he was resident in Paris, where he associated with Debussy and Ravel. The compositions that have come to very prominent notice have been the Opera *Life is Short* ('La Vida Breve') (written 1905; produced 1913), the Ballet performed by Diaghilef's troupe in 1919, *The Three Cornered Hat*, the Ballet *Magician Love* ('El Amor Brujo'), the three pieces for Piano and Orchestra, *Nights in the Gardens of Spain* (composed in 1916) and the Opera *Master Peter's Puppet Show* (a Don Quixote incident), produced in 1923.

De Falla is a keen student of his native folk-tunes, i. e. the music of the Southern Spanish peasantry, and his music shows much evidence of this in its rhythms and its melodies.

Amongst his later works is a Concerto for Harpsichord which, like some other works of his, shows strong 'ultra modern' leanings. In fact, though it seems convenient to place the notice of this composer amongst the notices of his fellow-countrymen in this volume, there would be an almost equal propriety in deferring it until the following volume.

TURINA

Turina was born in Seville in 1882. He studied for many years in Paris with d'Indy. He was also in close touch with Debussy. He has written some works for the theatre, some Chamber Music, Songs, &c. An orchestral piece that has made his name widely known outside his own country is *The Procession of the Rocio.* His music is full of the Spanish spirit and idiom.

Turina is a famous teacher of composition (in Madrid) and has done much critical writing.

MACKENZIE

Alexander Mackenzie was born in Edinburgh in 1847. His father, grandfather, and great-grandfather were all musicians. At ten the boy was sent to Germany to study music (especially Violin) at Sondershausen near Weimar. At fourteen he became a member of the Ducal Orchestra, and experienced the manners and the music of a small German Court of the old style. At sixteen he came to London, and re-learned his native language, which he had almost forgotten, and won a scholarship at the Royal Academy of Music. At eighteen he returned to Edinburgh, and supported himself as a professional violinist, composing actively meanwhile. There he remained until his early thirties, when, having begun to make a name as a composer (partly by the support of Manns, the Crystal Palace conductor), he went to Italy, and devoted himself to composition. Many of his works were

Mackenzie.

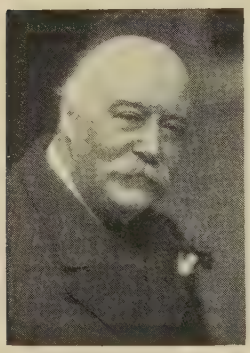
written for the various English Festivals, and he had a considerable success as an opera composer.

At forty-one Mackenzie was appointed Principal of the Royal Academy of Music, and he retained the position for thirty-six years, retiring in 1924. He was knighted in 1895.

A certain number of Mackenzie's compositions show a desire to use Scottish material, and he has frequently been inspired by Scottish subjects.

PARRY

Parry was born at Bournemouth in 1848, and died in 1918. His father was the artist, Gambier Parry, a man of high artistic and moral ideals, and a fine type of English country gentleman, as was Parry himself.



Parry.

The boy began to compose at eight. At Eton he took the lead in musical activities, and he actually took his Oxford Mus.Bac. degree whilst still at school. At Oxford he was equally active in musical doings. He was also prominent in almost every branch of athletics, and throughout his life, as swimmer, yachtsman, motorist, &c., he was by his venturesomeness constantly in danger, and often suffered minor injuries.

Leaving Oxford he entered Lloyd's, but after a few years gave himself to music study under Dannreuther, whose house was a great centre of musical culture in London in those days.

It was with a Festival Cantata that Parry first became known, and to the end he put his best work into compositions of this nature; often he himself wrote or compiled his own libretti, for he had much literary taste and skill.

At thirty-five Parry was appointed to the staff of the Royal College of Music, and at forty-six he became the head of that institution, to which his genial influence and broad-minded humanity were of the utmost value. At fifty he added to his responsibilities that of the Professorship of Music at Oxford. He was knighted at fifty and

created a Baronet at fifty-five. He wrote an epoch-making book on the history of music looked at from the evolutionary standpoint (*The Evolution of the Art of Music*), a fine book on Bach, and several other books of importance.

As a composer Parry was very English, not in the sense of making much use of English folk-song, but in the sense that the typical English moral qualities are represented in his work. His music has a Miltonic quality, and it is significant that his magnificent setting for Chorus and Orchestra of Milton's *At a Solemn Musick* ('Blest Pair of Sirens' he calls it from its opening lines), is usually regarded as his highest achievement. Towards the end he wrote a number of unaccompanied Motets of the greatest beauty. His Solo Songs are by some looked on as classics, and by others little regarded; they are almost all of them settings of English poems. The list of his compositions is enormous; it is in fact far too long; a greater reticence and more revision might have been to the advantage of his work.

STANFORD

Stanford was born in 1852 in Dublin. At eight he began to compose. At eighteen he went to Cambridge, where at twenty-one he became organist of Trinity College and soon after conductor of the University Musical Society; this under his direction gave the first British performance of many important works of contemporary composers, such as Brahms, of whom Stanford was a great admirer, with whom he was later to be intimate and by whom he was undoubtedly a good deal influenced. For three successive years the College authorities gave their organist leave of absence for a period, in order that he might study in Germany, and he fully profited by his opportunities. Before leaving consideration of these early days it may be well to recall that in 1879, when he was twenty-seven, his Morning, Communion, and Evening Service in B flat marked an epoch in English Church music; its individual style,

Stanford.

and its logical form (it introduces a unification of thematic material somewhat akin to the *Leitmotiv* system of Wagner) at once attracted attention, and gave its composer a position in cathedral and church service lists that seems likely to be permanent.

The larger public had heard of Stanford about three years earlier than this, when he composed the music for the Lyceum production of Tennyson's *Queen Mary*. At this time began a friendship with Tennyson that remained very close to the end of the poet's life, and several of the composer's works, such as *The Revenge* and the Wellington Ode remain as testimony to his admiration of the poet.

As an orchestral composer Stanford was very active, writing eight Symphonies, six Irish Rhapsodies, three Piano Concertos, three Violin Concertos (including one of the Irish Rhapsodies that is in this form), and so forth. As a Chamber Music composer he was almost equally prolific (eight String Quartets, for instance). In addition he wrote much Incidental Music for plays and eight Operas, some of which had successful runs abroad. As a choral writer and a choral conductor Stanford was very active and successful, and as a writer of solo songs almost equally so. As a teacher of composition he could claim that at the Royal College of Music successive generations of young composers had willingly admitted great indebtedness to him. He was for long Professor of Music at Cambridge University.

Stanford wrote a very practical book on *Musical Composition* and published several volumes of collected papers.

In a good deal of Stanford's music he makes use of Irish folk-tune, and he was one of the first to do this.

Stanford died in 1924.

APPENDIX I

FURTHER READING

UPON THE COMPOSERS DISCUSSED IN THIS BOOK

The following list is thought to include all worthy books on the various composers in the English language and in print on January 1, 1928. One or two out-of-print books are included for special reasons, a clear indication ('O.P.') being given of such. It must be remembered that on every composer mentioned there will be found articles in *Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Macmillan, 1927–8, 5 vols., each 30*s.*) and of most or all the later ones in *A Dictionary of Modern Music and Musicians* (Dent, 1924, 35*s.*); only one or two such articles are mentioned in this list. It may be pointed out that Eric Blom's *General Index to Modern Musical Literature* (Curwen, 5*s.*, 1927) gives a very comprehensive account of British published books and magazine articles on the various composers. For certain composers there is much more literature in some other language—as on Verdi in Italian and on Berlioz in French. A useful book giving information on musical literature in the German language up to the date of its publication is Aber's *Handbuch der Musikliteratur* (Breitkopf & Härtel, Leipzig, 1922). Far more literature on music is now appearing in every country than ever before, but a good many gaps still remain, especially as concerns literature in the English language.

BALAKIREF

Montagu-Nathan, *A History of Russian Music* (Reeves, 8*s.* 6*d.*).

Newmarch, *The Russian Opera* (Jenkins, 6*s.*).

BERLIOZ

Rhys (edited by), *Biography* (London : Dent, 2*s.* and 3*s.*). This is a somewhat loosely put together compilation from Berlioz' own writings.

Locke, *Music and the Romantic Movement in France* (Kegan Paul, 4*s.* 6*d.*).

Dannreuther, *The Romantic Period*, vol. vi of 'The Oxford History of Music' (Oxford University Press, 17*s.* 6*d.*).

BIZET

Parker, *Georges Bizet—His Life and Works* (Kegan Paul, 1926, 7*s.* 6*d.*).

BORODIN

Abraham, *Borodin—The Composer and His Music* (Reeves, 6*s.*).

Montagu-Nathan, *A History of Russian Music* (Reeves, 8*s.* 6*d.*).

BRAHMS

May, *The Life of Johannes Brahms*, 2 vols. (Arnold, 1905, O.P.). The standard life.

Fuller-Maitland, *Brahms* (Methuen, O.P.).

Erb, *Brahms* (London : Dent, 4*s.* 6*d.*).

Markham Lee, *Brahms* (Sampson Low, 2*s.* 6*d.*).

Pulver, *Johannes Brahms* (Kegan Paul, 1926, 7*s.* 6*d.*).

Kalbeck, translated by Hannah Bryant, *Johannes Brahms—The Herzogenberg Correspondence* (Murray, 1909, O.P.).

Colles, *Brahms* (Lane, 1908, 3*s.* 6*d.*). Only treats of works—not of life.

Edwin Evans, sen., *Historical, Descriptive, and Analytical Account of the Entire Works of Johannes Brahms*, vol. i (Wm. Reeves, 1912, 15*s.*). Only this one volume has so far been published; it is devoted to the vocal works.

CHOPIN

Niecks, *Chopin as a Man and Musician*, 2 vols. (Novello, 25*s.*). The standard life.

Liszt, *Life of Chopin* (Reeves, 6*s.* 6*d.*).

Bennett, *Chopin* ('Primers of Musical Biography', Novello, O.P.).

Huneker, *Chopin, the Man and his Music* (Reeves, 12*s.*).

Hadden, *Chopin* (Dent, 4*s.* 6*d.*).

Ashton Jonson, *A Handbook to Chopin's Works* (Reeves, 8*s.* 6*d.*). A most useful compilation, and the only one of its kind.

Kelley, *Chopin the Composer* (Chester, about 12*s.* 6*d.*).

Karasowski, *Life and Letters of Chopin* (Reeves, 2 vols., O.P.).

Tarnowski, *Chopin, as revealed by Extracts from his Diary* (Reeves, 3*s.* 6*d.*).

Hadow, *Studies in Modern Music*, Second Series (Seeley Service, 5*s.*). Contains a ninety-one-page sketch.

Colles, *The Growth of Music*, vol. iii (Oxford University Press, 3*s.* 6*d.*).

Mason, *The Romantic Composers* (Macmillan, 10*s.* 6*d.*). A short sketch.

Locke, *Music and the Romantic Movement in France* (Kegan Paul, 4*s.* 6*d.*).

Dannreuther, *The Romantic Period*, vol. vi of 'The Oxford History of Music' (Oxford University Press, 17*s.* 6*d.*).

DVOŘÁK

Hadow, *Studies of Modern Music*, vol. ii (Seeley Service, 5*s.*). Contains a fifty-page sketch constituting the best treatment in the English language.

Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms* (Macmillan, 10*s.*). Contains a twenty-page sketch.

Colles, *The Growth of Music*, vol. iii (Oxford University Press, 3*s.* 6*d.*).

Dannreuther, *The Romantic Period*, vol. vi of 'The Oxford History of Music' (Oxford University Press, 17*s.* 6*d.*).

Hoffmeister, translated by Newmarch, *Dvořák* (Lane, 6*s.*).

GLAZOUNOF

Montagu-Nathan, *A History of Russian Music* (Reeves, 8*s.* 6*d.*).

GLINKA

Montagu-Nathan, *Glinka* (Constable, 1916, O.P.).

Montagu-Nathan, *History of Russian Music* (Reeves, 8*s.* 6*d.*).

Newmarch, *The Russian Opera* (Jenkins, 6*s.*).

GLUCK

Newman, *Gluck and the Opera* (Bertram Dobell, 1895). Out of print, but to be seen in libraries.

Berlioz, *Gluck and his Operas* (Reeves, 5*s.*).

Rolland, *Some Musicians of Former Days* (Kegan Paul, 4*s.* 6*d.*).

Hadow, *The Viennese Period*, vol. v of 'The Oxford History of Music' (Oxford University Press, 17*s.* 6*d.*).

Colles, *The Growth of Music*, vol. ii (Oxford University Press, 3*s.* 6*d.*).

GOUNOD

Gounod, *Charles Gounod, Autobiographical Reminiscences* (Heinemann, O.P.).

GRANADOS

Van Vechten, *The Music of Spain* (Kegan Paul, 4*s.* 6*d.*). Brief treatment.

GRIEG

Finck, *Grieg and His Music* (Lane, R.P.).

Markham Lee, *Grieg* (Bell, 1908, O.P.).

Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms* (Macmillan, 10*s.*). A twenty page sketch.

LISZT

Huneker, *Franz Liszt* (Chapman & Hall, O.P.).

Hervey, *Franz Liszt and his Work* (Lane, 4*s.* 6*d.*).

Corder, *Liszt* (Kegan Paul, 7*s.* 6*d.*).

Siloti, *My Memories of Liszt* (Methven Simpson, Edinburgh, 2*s.*).

Mason, *The Romantic Composers* (Macmillan, 10*s.* 6*d.*). A twenty-page sketch.

Dannreuther, *The Romantic Period*, vol. vi of 'The Oxford History of Music' (Oxford University Press, 17*s.* 6*d.*).

Locke, *Music and the Romantic Movement in France* (Kegan Paul, 4*s.* 6*d.*).

Liszt, *The Gypsies and their Music in Hungary* (Reeves, 15*s.*).

MACKENZIE

Mackenzie, *A Musician's Narrative* (Cassell, 1927, 15*s.*). Autobiography and Reminiscences.

MASSENET

Finck, *Massenet and his Operas* (Lane, 1910, O.P.).

MENDELSSOHN

Grove's Dictionary. A fine and very long article by Grove himself—quite a book in size.

Stratton, *Mendelssohn* (Dent, 4*s.* 6*d.*).

Blackburn, *Mendelssohn* (Bell, O.P.).

Mason, *The Romantic Composers* (Macmillan, 10*s.* 6*d.*). A twenty-page sketch.

Dannreuther, *The Romantic Period*, vol. vi of 'The Oxford History of Music' (Oxford University Press, 17*s.* 6*d.*).

Parry, *Studies of Great Composers* (Routledge, 5*s.*). A thirty-page sketch.

Colles, *The Growth of Music*, vol. iii (Oxford University Press, 3*s.* 6*d.*).

MUSORGSKY

Montagu-Nathan, *Moussorgsky* (Constable, 1916, O.P.).

Calvocoressi, *Musorgsky* (Kegan Paul, 4*s.* 6*d.*). Unfortunately the English translation has serious errors, most of which remain in the 'Revised Edition'. The French original is published by Alcan, Paris.

Montagu-Nathan, *A History of Russian Music* (Reeves, 8*s.* 6*d.*).

Montagu-Nathan, *An Introduction to Russian Music* (Palmer, O.P.).

Rosenfeld, *Musical Portraits* (Kegan Paul, 10*s.* 6*d.*). A fifteen-page sketch.

Newmarch, *The Russian Opera* (Jenkins, 6*s.*).

PARRY

Graves, *Hubert Parry* (2 vols., Macmillan, 1926, 30*s.* net).

Parry, *College Addresses*, edited by Colles (Macmillan, 1926, 7*s.* 6*d.*).

RIMSKY-KORSAKOF

Rimsky-Korsakov, *My Musical Life* (Secker, 1924, 25*s.*).

Montagu-Nathan, *Rimsky-Korsakov* (Constable, 1916, O.P.).

Montagu-Nathan, *A History of Russian Music* (Reeves, 8*s.* 6*d.*).

SAINT-SAËNS

Hervey, *Saint-Saëns* (Lane, 1921, O.P.).

Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms* (Macmillan, 10*s.*). A twenty-page sketch.

Rolland, *Musicians of To-day* (Kegan Paul, 4*s.* 6*d.*). A fifteen-page sketch.

Lyle, *Camille Saint-Saëns—His Life and Art* (Kegan Paul, 1926, 4*s.* 6*d.*).

Saint-Saëns, translated by Rothwell, *Outspoken Essays on Music* (Kegan Paul, 1922, 4*s.* 6*d.*).

Saint-Saëns, translated by Rich, *Musical Memories* (Murray, 1921, 15*s.*).

SCHUMANN

Niecks, *Robert Schumann* (Dent, 1926, 10*s.* 6*d.*). A very fine treatment with much new matter.

Grove's Dictionary. A very long article by Philip Spitta—quite a book in size.

Reissmann, translated by Alger, *Schumann's Life and Works* (Bell, O.P.).

Fuller-Maitland, *Schumann* (Sampson Low, 2*s.* 6*d.*).

Bedford, *Schumann* (Kegan Paul, 7*s.* 6*d.*).

Hadow, *Studies in Modern Music*, First Series (Seeley Service, 5*s.*). An eighty-page sketch.

Mason, *The Romantic Composers* (Macmillan, 10*s.* 6*d.*).

Parry, *Studies of Great Composers* (Routledge, 6*s.*). A thirty-page sketch.

Schumann, *Music and Musicians* (Reeves, 2 vols.; vol. i, 8*s.* 6*d.*; vol. ii, 10*s.* 6*d.*).

SMETANA

Nejedlý, *Frederick Smetana* (Geoffrey Bles, 5*s.*).

STANFORD

Stanford, *Studies and Memories* (Constable, 1908, O.P.).

Stanford, *Interludes, Records, and Reflections* (Murray, 1922, 12*s.*).

SULLIVAN

Sullivan and Flower, *Sir Arthur Sullivan* (Cassell, 1927, 21s.).

Saxe Wyndham, *Sullivan* (Kegan Paul, 7*s.* 6*d.*).

Saxe Wyndham, *Sullivan* ('Miniature Series of Musicians', Bell, 1*s.* 6*d.*).

Findon, *Sir Arthur Sullivan—His Life and Music* (Nisbet, 1904, O.P.).
Godwin, *Gilbert and Sullivan* (Dent, 1926, 6*s*.).
Cellier and Bridgeman, *Gilbert, Sullivan, and D'Oyly Carte* (Pitman, 21*s*.).
Dark and Grey, *W. S. Gilbert—His Life and Letters* (Methuen, 15*s*.).
Gilbert, *The Savoy Operas*, the actual texts (Macmillan, 1926, 8*s*. 6*d*. and 10*s*. 6*d*.).
Lytton, *The Secrets of a Savoyard* (Jarrolds, 5*s*.).
Dunhill, *Sullivan's Comic Operas, a Critical Appreciation* (Arnold, 10*s*. 6*d*.).

TCHAIKOVSKY

Edwin Evans, *Tchaikovsky* (Dent, 1906, 4*s*. 6*d*.).
Markham Lee, *Tchaikovsky* ('The Music of the Masters', John Lane, 3*s*. 6*d*.).
Markham Lee, *Tchaikovsky* (Miniature Series of Musicians, Bell, 1906, 1*s*. 6*d*.).
Newmarch, *Life and Works of Tchaikovsky* (Reeves, 8*s*. 6*d*.).
Modeste Tchaikovsky (edited by Newmarch), *The Life and Letters of Peter Ilich Tchaikovsky* (Lane, 1906, 15*s*.).
Montagu-Nathan, *A History of Russian Music* (Reeves, 8*s*. 6*d*.).
Mason, *From Grieg to Brahms* (Macmillan, 10*s*.).
Colles, *The Growth of Music*, vol. iii (Oxford University Press, 3*s*. 6*d*.). Brief treatment.
Newmarch, *The Russian Opera* (Jenkins, 6*s*.).

VERDI

Visetti, *Verdi* (Bell, O.P.)
Mackenzie, *Verdi* (Murdoch, O.P.).

WAGNER

Newman, *Wagner as Man and Artist* (Lane, 12*s*. 6*d*.).
Newman, *Wagner* (Lane, 3*s*. 6*d*.). Only the works—no life.
Wallace, *Richard Wagner as he Lived* (Kegan Paul, 1925, 7*s*. 6*d*.).
Runciman, *Wagner* ('Miniature Series of Musicians'; Bell). This, and the author's bigger work, of very individual character, *Richard Wagner—Composer of Operas*, are now out of print.
Hight, *Richard Wagner—A Critical Biography*, 2 vols. (Arrowsmith, 52*s*. 6*d*.).
Ashton Ellis, *Life of Richard Wagner*, 6 vols. (W. Reeves, 1900, 15*s*. each vol.).
Wagner, *My Life*, 2 vols. (Constable, 1911, 31*s*. 6*d*.).

Lidgey, *Wagner* (London: Dent, 4*s.* 6*d.*).

Judith Gautier, *Wagner at Home* (Mills & Boon, O.P.).

Angelo Neumann, *Personal Recollections of Wagner* (Constable, 1909, O.P.).

Wagner, translated by Edwin Evans, sen., *Opera and Drama*, 2 vols. (Reeves, 12*s.* 6*d.*).

Hall, *The Wagner Romances* (Lane, 1907, O.P.).

Filson Young, *The Wagner Stories* (Grant Richards, 6*s.*).

Kobbé, *Wagner's Music-Dramas Analysed—With the Leading Motives* (London: Putnams; New York: Schirmer, 7*s.* 6*d.*).

Röckel, translated by Parrish, *What Does Richard Wagner relate concerning the Origin of His Musical Composition of The Ring of the Nibelung?* Nos. I and II (Breitkopf & Härtel, 1908, each 1*s.*).

Kobbé, *How to Understand Wagner's Ring of the Nibelung* (Reeves, 4*s.* 6*d.*).

Dickinson, *The Musical Design of the Ring* (Oxford University Press, 1926, 1*s.* 6*d.*).

Winworth, *The Epic of Sounds—An Interpretation of Wagner's Nibelungen Ring* (Novello, O.P.; Philadelphia: Lippincott).

Lewis, *The Ethics of Wagner's The Ring of the Nibelung* (Putnams, 1906, O.P.).

Wilson, *Wagner Dramas and Greek Tragedy* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1919).

Pagan, *The Mythological Background of Wagner's Ring of the Nibelung* (Theosophical Publishing Society, O.P.).

Shaw, *The Perfect Wagnerite* (Constable, 5*s.*).

Cleather and Crump, *The Ring of the Nibelung* (Methuen, 4*s.*). Cleather and Crump's books aim at describing and interpreting the works in accordance with Wagner's own writings.

Cleather and Crump, *Tristan and Isolda* (Methuen, 4*s.*). See remark above.

Cleather and Crump, *Lohengrin and Parsifal* (Methuen, 4*s.*). See remark above.

Cleather and Crump, *Tannhäuser and the Mastersingers of Nuremberg* (Methuen, 4*s.*).

von Wolzogen, translated by Ashton Ellis, *A Key to Parsifal* (Schott, 2*s.* 6*d.*).

Boughton, *Parsifal—A Study* ('Musical Opinion', 2*s.*).

Heintz, translated by Constance Bache, *Parsifal, by Richard Wagner, Its Origin in the Old Legends and its Musical Motives explained* (Novello, 2*s.* 6*d.*).

Cantor, *Parsifal—An Analysis and Some Thoughts on the Symbolism* (Year Book Press, 1914, 1*s*.).

Gatty, *Parsifal* (Boosey, 1*s*. 6*d*.).

Thompson, *Wagner and Wagenseil—A Source of Wagner's Opera 'Die Meistersinger'* (Oxford University Press, 1927, 10*s*. 6*d*.).

Winn, *The Master-Singers of Wagner* (Oxford University Press, 1925, 1*s*. 6*d*.).

Dannreuther, *The Romantic Period*, vol. vi of 'The Oxford History of Music' (Oxford University Press, 17*s*. 6*d*.).

(For a list of English translations of the Wagner libretti, see under.)

WEBER

Benedict, *Weber* (Sampson Low, 2*s*. 6*d*.).

Dannreuther, *The Romantic Period*, vol. vi of 'The Oxford History of Music' (Oxford University Press, 17*s*. 6*d*.).

Berlioz, *Mozart, Weber, and Wagner, and other Essays* (Reeves, 5*s*.).

Parry, *Studies of Great Composers* (Routledge, 6*s*.). A thirty-page sketch.

TRANSLATIONS OF THE WAGNER LIBRETTI

(*a*) METRICAL TRANSLATIONS

Flying Dutchman. (English and German words.) Novello, 1*s*. 4*d*.

Flying Dutchman. (English and German words.) Breitkopf & Härtel, 1*s*. 6*d*.

Lohengrin. (English and German words.) Novello, 1*s*. 4*d*.

Lohengrin. (English words only, trans. by Jameson.) Schott, 1*s*.

Mastersingers. (English words only, trans. by Jameson.) Schott, 2*s*.

Parsifal. (English and German words.) Breitkopf & Härtel, 1*s*. 6*d*.

Parsifal. (English words only, trans. by Glyn.) Schott, 1*s*.

Parsifal. (English and German words, trans. by Glyn.) Schott, 1*s*.

Rienzi. (English words only.) Breitkopf & Härtel, 1*s*.

Rheingold. (English words only, trans. by Jameson.) Schott, 1*s*. 6*d*.

Rheingold. (English and German words, trans. by Jameson.) Schott, 1*s*. 6*d*.

Rheingold. (English and German words.) Breitkopf & Härtel, 1*s*. 6*d*.

Rheingold. (English and German words, trans. by Corder.) Schott, 2*s*.

Siegfried. (English words only, trans. by Jameson.) Schott, 1*s*. 6*d*.

Siegfried. (English and German words, trans. by Jameson.) Schott, 1*s*. 6*d*.

Siegfried. (English and German words, trans. by Corder.) Schott, 2*s*.

Tannhäuser. (English and German words.) Novello, 1*s*. 4*d*.

Tristan. (English words only, trans. by Jameson.) Schott, 1*s.* 6*d.*
Tristan. (English and German words.) Breitkopf & Härtel, 1*s.* 6*d.*
Twilight of the Gods. (English words only, trans. by Jameson.) Schott, 1*s.* 6*d.*
Twilight of the Gods. (English and German words, trans. by Jameson.) Schott, 1*s.* 6*d.*
Twilight of the Gods. (English and German words, trans. by Corder.) Schott, 2*s.*
Valkyrie. (English words only, trans. by Jameson.) Schott, 1*s.* 6*d.*
Valkyrie. (English and German words, trans. by Jameson.) Schott, 1*s.* 6*d.*
Valkyrie. (English and German words, trans. by Corder.) Schott, 2*s.*
Valkyrie. (English and German words.) Breitkopf & Härtel, 1*s.* 6*d.*

NOTE. Messrs. Breitkopf & Härtel publish libretti (with English and German words) of all the Wagner Operas, but only those above mentioned are at present (January, 1928) in print.

(*b*) FREE PROSE TRANSLATIONS

Fall of the Nibelung, trans. by Margaret Armour. Dent, 2*s.*
Rheingold and Valkyrie, trans. by Margaret Armour. Heinemann, 21*s.*
Siegfried and The Twilight of The Gods, trans. by Margaret Armour. Heinemann, 21*s.*

(The last two have Rackham's many pictures, in colour.)

APPENDIX II

PROGRAMME MUSIC

Here is a classic protest against 'Programme Music' in its cruder and what we may call its more 'material' forms. It comes from the famous treatise, *Of the True, the Beautiful, and the Good*, by Victor Cousin, the French philosopher, statesman, and orator. It says nothing that has not been said before and since, but it says it neatly:

> Give the cleverest symphonic writer a storm to reproduce. Nothing could be more simple than to imitate the whistling of winds and the crash of thunder. But by what combination of ordered sounds could he enable us to visualize the flashes of lightning that suddenly tear asunder the veil of darkness, or that most terrifying aspect of storm, the movement of the waves, now rising to mountains, now falling headlong into unfathomable abysses? If the listener has not been previously told the subject of the music he can certainly never guess it, and, indeed, I challenge him to distinguish between a storm and a battle. Despite all the composer's skill or genius he cannot reproduce shapes in sounds. Music, then, wisely directed, will avoid a hopeless competition; it will refuse the attempt to reproduce the rise and fall of the waves and other natural phenomena, but will awaken in our hearts the emotions that possess us during the different phases of a tempest. Thus Haydn becomes the rival and even the superior of the painter, for it has been permitted to music to move the heart even more powerfully than painting.

This appeared in 1854. Ten years later was born Richard Strauss, who has represented in music the bleating of sheep, the whirring of wind, the clash of battle, the preaching of sermons, the washing of babies, the hanging of criminals, the ticking of clocks, the rising of the sun, the noise of waterfalls, danger on the mountain and the attaining of the peak, and, of course, thunder and storm.

Liszt and 'Programme' Extemporization

'At my last recital [in Milan] a valuable silver cup, of beautiful craftsmanship, said to be by one of Benvenuto Cellini's best pupils, was placed at the door, so that people might put into it their

suggestions as to themes. When I began to read the suggestions I found, as I expected, a great number of musical themes from Bellini and Donizetti. Then there came to light an anonymous note from some one who proposed 'Milan Cathedral'. 'Ah,' said I to myself, 'here's a man who's learnt something from his reading and remembers what Mme. de Staël wrote, 'Music is an architecture in sound.' . . . A respectable gentleman gave me the subject 'The Railway'. . . . I hurried on to another paper. What did I now find? . . . I read 'Is it better to marry or to remain a bachelor?'

PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS, OXFORD
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